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GEORGE SANDYS'S 1632 METAMORPHOSIS:

ITS LITERARY MILIEU, EMBLEMATIC NATURE, AND INFLUENCE

by



GAYLE N. CARLOCK


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ABSTRACT

This study considers the relationship of George Sandys's 1632 translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses to its milieu, a problem which is approached from several points of view. Sandys's poetic relationships and his reputation in the seventeenth century offer insights into his poetic development and the reputation of his translation. A comparison of Sandys's translation with Golding's Metamorphoses and Dryden's excerpts reveals Sandys's literal quality which can be related to contemporary theories of translation. The emblematic background which includes the traditions of emblem literature, book illustration, and the presence of mythological subjects in works of art found in Jacobean England has its influence upon the iconographic aspects of Sandys's Ovid (its frontispiece, illustrations, and reliance upon emblem literature in the commentaries). Within this background the meaning of Sandys's elaborate title page becomes clear, and the originality of the illustrations is apparent. The elaborately engraved plates of Sandys's folio edition did rival the Continental editions as he had intended them to do. But within England Sandys's translation had its greatest popularity in the grammar schools as a text for teaching Latin. This use offers an explanation as to how Sandys's Ovid had its greatest effect upon English literature through its influence upon the formation of eighteenth-century poetic diction.

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INTRODUCTION

Many questions about George Sandys's 1632 translation of the Metamorphoses remain inadequately answered. No one has pointed out where Sandys is typical in his work and where he is original. No clear picture exists of why his contemporaries valued his translation. Its influence upon English literature and how this influence took place also invite more detailed consideration.

Modern scholarship on Sandys, which includes a biography and several dissertations, has tangentially dealt with parts of these problems, while providing a foundation of solid scholarship upon which I have built. I suspect that Douglas Bush aroused the interest of modern scholars with his short sketch of Sandys's Ovid in Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry (1932, revised in 1963). In this work he describes Sandys's 1632 edition as "The greatest repository of allegorized myth in English."¹ Since Bush's comment, two major works have appeared, one a life of Sandys, and the other a new edition of his major work.

In 1955 R. B. Davis published a very detailed scholarly biography entitled George Sandys: Poet-Adventurer. The book presents not only a thorough discussion of Sandys's travels and publications but also a detailed picture of Sandys's relationship with the Virginia Company and colony. Davis also collaborated with Fredson Bowers on a detailed bibliographical catalogue of the printed editions of Sandys's works in England up to 1700.²

In 1970 Karl Hulley and Stanley Vandersall published an edited edition of Sandys's 1632 annotated Metamorphosis.³ This book, which also reprints the illustrations, has an excellent foreword by Douglas Bush, and identifies the sources of all Sandys's verse quotations in his commentaries. This publication is a valuable addition to Sandys scholarship and mythography studies for it makes his work much more readily available to students.

In addition to these major publications several scholars, while pursuing other subjects, offer relevant discussions of Sandys. Don Cameron Allen, in Mysteriously Meant, considers Sandys's commentaries in relation to the tradition of Ovidian allegorical interpretation. In Milton and the Renaissance Ovid Davis P. Harding places Sandys's work within the context of editions of Ovid published in England and considers the possibility of Sandys's influence upon Milton. Sandys's influence upon the development of the heroic couplet receives detailed consideration from both Ruth Wallerstein and William Bowman Piper, while Geoffrey Tillotson considers Sandys's influence upon eighteenth-century poetic diction.⁴

Several unpublished dissertations have also been prepared on Sandys. Noteworthy among these are Floyd Overly's excellent study of Sandys's mythography which established Sandys's sources, and Beatrice Ingall's detailed study of Sandys's translation.⁵

All these studies have made contributions to modern scholarship on Sandys's Ovid, but many aspects of the relationship of Sandys's work to his milieu remain unexplored. This present study of the relationship of Sandys's Ovid to its milieu must, of necessity, take several diverse points of view, considering such topics as Sandys's poetic reputation

and social position, the nature of his translation, characteristics of his society which might have influenced the preparation of the book, and its later use and influence upon English poetry. With these varying viewpoints, Sandys's Ovid appears from some perspectives as typical of its age and from others as a comparatively original work. The focus of this study, however, always remains on Sandys's Metamorphosis, the deluxe 1632 folio with commentaries and engraved illustrations, and the later duodecimo editions.

A detailed study of Sandys's poetic relationships and his reputation as a poet in the seventeenth century offers insights into his Metamorphosis. His expanding ring of poetic acquaintances suggests how his poetic development occurred. It grew from his early friendship with Michael Drayton to his later participation in the circle at Great Tew, formed by Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, a Son of Ben, a circle which included Thomas Carew and Edmund Waller. Sandys's litigation over the publication of his Ovid provides insights into his publishing efforts and yields an incomplete list of gentlemen who received Sandys's Ovid. An investigation of the number of editions of Sandys's Ovid published in the seventeenth century, along with contemporary allusions to Sandys, establishes the popularity of his work. The changing nature of the allusions from a generally uncritical tone to a critical assessment of his translation further clarifies his changing poetic reputation.

Why was Sandys so popular during his century? An evaluation of his translation in comparison with Golding's Metamorphoses and Dryden's excerpts from the same poem offers some insight into this problem. While Sandys's literal quality deserves praise in comparison to Golding's expansions, the same attempt at line-for-line literal translation often

becomes a fault when Sandys strives for too much compression. A survey of contemporary theories of literal translation offers some insight into the attempts at compression which appear in his practice, even though they do not excuse this flaw. The contrast between Dryden, a master of the developed heroic couplet, and Sandys, a poet writing at its inception, further accentuates Sandys's compression and literal faithfulness to Ovid.

If Sandys's translation stands out from its Elizabethan predecessors for its adherence to the Latin, the book as a whole stands out from other books of its period in its emblematic quality (the commentaries are much closer to the commonplace than are the elaborate engravings). These iconographic aspects of Sandys's Ovid, its frontispiece, illustrations, and reliance upon emblem literature, have barely been considered by previous scholars. Sandys's decision to include these engravings must have been influenced by various seventeenth-century emblematic traditions.

Much of this emblematic background, which includes the traditions of emblem literature, book illustrations, and the presence of mythological subjects in works of art found in Jacobean England, grew first out of the Renaissance fascination with Egyptian hieroglyphs and then out of the vogue of emblem books both on the Continent and in England. The popularity of emblematic title pages or frontispieces in Jacobean England is closely related to this vogue of emblem literature, and the emblematic nature of the masque as a tableau vivant forms another relevant part of Sandys's milieu. Equally relevant is the rapid growth of fine art collections in early seventeenth-century England. Within these collections were many mythological works and, more important, illustrations of

heroic stories which were often serial. This suggests another aspect of Sandys's milieu, book illustration, to which Harington's illustrated translation of Orlando Furioso and the Continental tradition of illustrated editions of the Metamorphoses are particularly pertinent. Within the context of this emblematic background the emblematic nature of Sandys's Ovid is immediately apparent.

The elaborately engraved plates make Sandys's Ovid a deluxe edition which rivaled the Continental editions as he had intended it to do. Within England schoolmasters found a far more practical use for the work. The folio edition made an excellent reference book for a school library, and the cheaper editions without illustrations and commentaries made useful textbooks for any student learning Latin. Evidence for the use of Sandys's Ovid as a textbook appears both in the educational writings of Charles Hoole, a London schoolmaster, and Richard Holdsworth, fourth Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; and in autobiographical comments by Aubrey, Dryden and Pope. With the influence established, the implications of such widespread use must be examined. Sandys played a minor role in the development of the heroic couplet, and he also influenced the Ovidian translations of Dryden and Pope. His Ovid, however, had its greatest effect upon English literature through its influence upon the formation of eighteenth-century poetic diction. Geoffrey Tillotson has noted this influence, and the study of Sandys's use in the Latin education of Restoration students offers an explanation of how Sandys had such an extensive influence.⁶

Sandys's effect upon English literature was not limited to these areas, and I have, therefore, added an appendix to survey his other influences. English poets still read Sandys's Ovid almost two hundred years after its publication. At this late date his final influence

occurred among the Romantics, where Leigh Hunt and Keats both became interested in Sandys's translation and mythography. Although Sandys was read by Keats and Hunt, his greatest popularity and influence occurred in the seventeenth century when this gentleman scholar had established a reputation as a poet.

NOTES

¹Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition, 254.

²Bowers and Davis, "George Sandys: A Bibliographical Catalogue of Printed Editions in England to 1700," Bulletin of the New York Public Library, 54 (April, 1950), 159-81, 223-44, 280-86.

³I have used Sandys's variant spelling of Metamorphoses (that is, Metamorphosis) when referring to Sandys's editions.

⁴Wallerstein, "The Development of the Heroic Couplet," PMLA, L (1935), 166-209; Piper, The Heroic Couplet; Tillotson, On the Poetry of Pope.

⁵Overly, "Preliminary Studies in the Ovidian Mythography of George Sandys;" Ingalls, "George Sandys' Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses."

⁶Tillotson, On the Poetry of Pope, 66-68.

CHAPTER II

SANDYS'S LITERARY MILIEU AND CONTEMPORARY REPUTATION

By the early 1630s George Sandys had gained a reputation among his contemporaries as a poet. This reputation began with the publication of his translation of the first five books of the Metamorphoses in 1621, but he was also known for his earlier travel book. Later in the 1630s his poetic reputation grew with the publication of his Biblical paraphrases. A study of Sandys's complete literary career, his contemporary reputation and his literary milieu will offer insights into his Metamorphosis. A great deal of the general biographical scholarship on Sandys has been done by R.B. Davis in his impressive and scholarly biography George Sandys, Poet-Adventurer, and I shall be making frequent references to his thoroughly documented study.

Few records remain of Sandys's early life, but the Archbishop Sandys's family has been associated with the family of the clergyman, John King, who was a distinguished chaplain to Queen Elizabeth.¹ Sandys, therefore, probably knew Henry King (1592-1669) as a boy thirteen years younger than himself. Many years later, in 1638, when Henry King had commenced his career in the church (he shortly thereafter became Bishop of Chichester) more conclusive proof of their friendship appeared in King's commendatory poem "To my honoured friend Mr. George Sandys" for Sandys's A Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems. King refers to their youthful friendship:

I shall profess, much of the love I owe
Doth from the Root of our Extraction grow.²

Beyond this no events of literary interest are part of our knowledge of Sandys's early life.

After study at St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, and the Middle Temple he embarked on his long journey (1610-1612) to the Holy Land. Out of this trek grew his first book A Relation of a Journey Begun Anno. Dom. 1610 which he published in 1615. This illustrated folio went through nine English editions, the last published in 1673. In addition to these, two Dutch editions in 1654 and 1665 and one German edition in 1669 were published.³ Later authors of travel literature, such as Robert Johnson, Samuel Purchas, Peter Mundy, and John Harris relied on Sandys's travelogue.⁴ As a literary source book Sandys's Relation influenced many authors. His influence is studied by Robert Cawley in The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama. Cawley lists the following authors who were indebted to Sandys's Relation: Bacon, Jonson, Dekker, Marston, Phineas Fletcher, Burton, Sir Thomas Browne, Shirley, Milton, Cowley and Thomas Fuller.⁵ Izaak Walton and Samuel Johnson can be added to this list.⁶ In its primary function as a travel book it was still consulted as late as 1718, when Lady Mary Wortley Montague mentions it in her letters.⁷ Even though Sandys's Relation was so well received and he later traveled to Virginia, he never again published any travel book.

Between 1615 and 1621 Sandys must have spent part of this time translating, for in 1621 he published a translation of the first five books of Ovid's Metamorphoses.⁸ Although Samuel Johnson has described Sandys as an imitator of Ben Jonson's literal style of translation as seen in his version of Horace's Ars Poetica, I have been unable to find any evidence linking Sandys either to Jonson or to the other literal

translators whom Dr. Johnson listed.⁹ The translation itself drew the interest of English readers and it went through two editions in 1621, a reception which no doubt encouraged Sandys to continue his efforts.¹⁰

He also received encouragement from his friend, the poet Michael Drayton. In 1627 Drayton published a collection of poems under the title of The Battle of Agincourt, and two of the elegies in this are of interest here, for they relate to Sandys. Drayton entitled one, written in 1621-22, "To Master George Sandys Treasurer for the English Colony in Virginia" (Sandys had gone to Virginia in 1621).¹¹ In the poem Drayton laments the present state of poetry. His preference for the earlier, heroic Elizabethan verse becomes apparent when he mourns that "those brave numbers" are now "rarely read."¹² He commences his epistle with a long refusal to relate news of state in which he recounts his failure to gain the favor of James I with his poetry. He then makes a rather abrupt shift to Sandys and his new translation:

And (worthy George) by industry and use,
Let's see what lines Virginia will produce;
Goe on with Ovid, as you have begunne,
With the first five Bookes; let your numbers run
Glib as the former, so shall it live long,
And doe much honour to the English Tongue¹³

The adjective "glib" then carried the now rare meaning of "smooth" or "easy," and Drayton's passage on Sandys and Ovid in the "Epistle to Henery Reynolds" clearly shows that he was relying on this meaning.¹⁴ Drayton's encouragement no doubt reinforced Sandys's own determination, and in a 1623 letter he states "Yet amongst the roreing of the seas, the rustling of the Shrowde, and Clamour of Saylers, I translated two bookes . . . ," and in the dedication to Prince Charles of the 1626 Metamorphosis he refers to it as "bred in the New-World."¹⁵ After his advice to Sandys, Drayton continues his lament on the present

state of poetry in England, concluding that the Muses' fate is to flee England for America; the English reader no longer has good taste in literature:

Base Balatry is so belov'd and sought,
And those brave numbers are put by for naught.¹⁶

Drayton's concluding verse paragraph begins with a request of Sandys:

If you vouchsafe rescription, stuffe your quill
With naturall bountyes and impart your skill,
In the description of the place, that I,
May become learned in the soyle thereby;
Of noble Wyats health, and let me heare,
The Governour; and how our people there,
Increase and labour, what supplyes are sent,
Which I confesse shall give me much content.
But you may save your labour if you please,
To write to me ought of your Savages.¹⁷

No evidence remains of Sandys's having granted this request for a descriptive verse epistle but the mention of savages allows Drayton to return to his main concern. He concludes the elegy with one final attack on the "savage slaves" now in Britain.¹⁸

The second elegy in which Drayton mentions Sandys is "To My Most Dearely-Loved Friend Henery Reynolds Esquire, of Poets and Poesie." After an introductory passage presenting a highly sentimental portrayal of Drayton's youthful enthusiasm for poetry and his initial education in the classical poets, Drayton begins an historical survey of English poetry. The poets he selects for praise again reveal his tastes as Elizabethan in contrast, for example, to what we know of Ben Jonson's preferences. Chaucer, Surrey, Wyatt, Spenser, Sidney, Marlowe, Nashe, Shakespeare and Jonson receive his acclaim. The inclusion of Nashe for his prose satire makes the only exception to an otherwise conventional list. Drayton then considers translators. He praises Chapman and Sylvester and continues:

Then dainty Sands that hath to English done,
 Smooth sliding Ovid, and hath made him run
 With so much sweetnesse and unusuall grace,
 As though the neatnesse of the English pace,
 Should tell the Jetting Lattine that it came
 But slowly after, as though stiffe and lame.¹⁹

Drayton's technique of asserting that the English translation excels the original is a fairly common technique used for praising translations. Here, as in the other elegy, Drayton chooses to emphasize Sandys's sweetness and grace. Concluding his survey of translators with this praise of Sandys, Drayton turns to poets who are his personal friends and closes with a bitter observation on the present practice of some poets whose poems are incloistered in private chambers and go about only by transcription. The praise of Sandys, like the rest of the poem, has little critical value. The two poems, which are both dated around 1621, do, however, give insights into the friendship between Sandys and Drayton.

Samuel Wrote, a personal friend of Sandys, apparently echoed Drayton's encouragement to continue the translation. In a 1623 reply, Sandys commences with a discussion of his translation:

If I could be proud yor Censure had so made me for that slothful worke
 wch I was ashamed to ffather. notwithstanding it begat a desire to
 proceede: but heare my owne Author.

-----nec plura sinit tempusque pudorque
 Dicere maius opus magni certaminis urget.

Yet amongst the roreing of the seas, the rustling of the Shrowde, and
 Clamour of Saylers, I translated two bookes, and will perhaps when the
 sweltring heat of the day confines me to my Chamber give a further
 assaye. for wch if I be taxt I have noe other excuse but that it was
 the recreacon of my idle howers²⁰

Sandys's self-deprecation and interest in anonymity can probably be attributed to the conventional stance which many Renaissance gentlemen took towards their publications.

Further support for Sandys's work also came in 1623 when the

first five books were reset and republished in London.²¹ Encouraged by his friends and the prospect of a good market, Sandys had the complete translation ready for publication in 1626, shortly after his return from America. His efforts were rewarded. The King granted him a patent for the exclusive right to print and sell his translation for twenty-one years. The patent states that Sandys "to his great Charge" had prepared the translation "to be imprinted and made readie to be published in Printe."²² The King granted the privilege ". . . the better to encourage him and others to imploie their Labours and Studies in good Literature"²³ When the edition was published, it carried the notification of this patent on the title page in the Latin phrase "Cum Privilegio ad imprimendum hanc Ovidii Translationem."²⁴ Sandys dedicated this work and all the rest of his publications to King Charles.

In a comment to the reader in the 1626 edition Sandys speaks of "the hastinesse of the Presse, and unexpected want of leasure" which prevented the inclusion of marginal notes explaining names.²⁵ This small comment provides the first indication of Sandys's genuine concern over the quality of his text. During the next six years he spent a considerable amount of time preparing a new, improved, scholarly edition. The major addition was the extensive commentaries presenting the philosophical sense of the fables. He also revised the translation and added the illustrations, a translation of the first book of the Aeneid, and many marginal comments.

Sandys, in exercising his patent rights, elected to publish this, his finest edition, at Oxford.²⁶ No specific reason for his change in printers has been established but several interesting possibilities exist. The most obvious reason is that he probably lived near Oxford, for he did have relatives near there with whom he lived in later years.²⁷ Some of

his acquaintances might also have drawn him to this area of England. In 1627 some letters establish Sandys's friendship with the younger Sir Henry Rainsford, who lived nearby in Clifford, Gloucestershire.²⁸ Rainsford was one of the Falkland circle. In addition to Rainsford, by 1632 Sir Lucius Cary Viscount Falkland definitely knew of Sandys and then had probably already begun their close friendship.²⁹ In a poem which he had given to Ben Jonson, Falkland mentioned Sandys and his translation; the poem praises Sir Henry Morison who, Falkland states:

Did Ovid's and High Lucan's Praise display,
Without Beholdingnes to Sands or May!³⁰

In addition to these friendships, other reasons might have drawn Sandys to this area. In compiling his commentaries Sandys relied on many authors, and the libraries of Falkland's country estate and more importantly of Oxford University, where he had earlier been a student, might well have brought him there. But Archbishop Laud's influence was probably the decisive reason for Sandys's move. The Archbishop, who had always shown an interest in Oxford, had during this time a specific interest in the reputation of the Oxford press as a learned press.³¹ The Royalist Sandys, who later wrote a dedicatory verse to Laud, might easily have known Laud's goals and cooperated with them by printing his most scholarly edition at Oxford.³²

R.B. Davis has gathered a great deal of information about the actual printing of Sandys's 1632 edition through the discovery of a law-suit brought by Sandys against one of his printers, William Stansby.³³ Although Sandys never really prospered financially, he did pay for the publication himself, and his concern that he receive his just profits under his patent led him to initiate the suit. The testimony in the law-suit provides additional information about the publication and some of

Sandys's associations. He had 1550 copies printed, a comparatively large edition. Of these copies fifty were printed on "the best sort of paper" and were probably intended to be presentation copies; since, however, none of these has survived, Sandys's actual use of them remains unknown.³⁴

The testimony during the trial does give a brief list of some of the individual copies distributed by Stansby at Sandys's request. Professor Davis generally assumes that these are presentation copies but in most cases it is equally possible that Sandys had made individual sales to the recipients. The list is short and merits inclusion:

to or for the King & Queene Ma^{ties} 2 of the books of the best paper; to Mr. Butler 1 copy; to Mr. Beaucheny 1; to Mr. Cuffe 1; to a kinsman of Sandys whose name the defendant did not remember, 1; to Mr. Paine 1; to Mr. Johnson 1; to a gentleman of Mortlake 1; to Mr. Butler again 1; to Mr. Johnson 1 more; to Sir Francis Yatte 1 of the best paper; to Mr. Hesswell 1; to the plaintiff's nephew Mr. George Sandys 1 of the best paper; to Sir Thomas Bludder 1; to the Lady Wingfield 1; to Mr. Clen 1; to Mr. Barnard's man 1; to them that printed off the plate 2.³⁵

A counter-suit by Stansby included one additional name, a Mr. Leawes.³⁶

The copies of the best paper to the King and Queen, to Sir Francis Yatte (Sir Francis Wyatt, the Governor of Virginia [1621-26] who was a relative and friend of Sandys), and to Sandys's nephew were probably presentation copies, whereas the remainder might or might not have been presentations.³⁷

The copy to a gentleman of Mortlake suggests that Sandys knew more of the Mortlake tapestry works than just Francis Cleyn, the King's tapestry designer who also received a copy (presumably the "Mr. Clen" refers to Cleyn). The two references to Mr. Johnson raise the most intriguing problem. Are they a reference to Ben Jonson? In other instances on the list variant spellings are used (most notably in the "Sir Francis Yatte" for Wyatt) and Jonson's name was frequently spelled "Johnson" during his

own time. Since Falkland was also a friend and great admirer of Ben Jonson, these references might well be to presentation copies which Sandys gave to Ben Jonson. To further complicate the problem, a gift copy of Sandys's 1632 edition to Ben Jonson by Sir Kenelm Digby has survived to the twentieth century.³⁸ This does not, of course, preclude the possibility of one or both of the copies on the list being presentation copies or, as another alternative, Professor Davis suggests that Jonson might have purchased one or both of them from Sandys for presentation elsewhere.³⁹ I have searched for any conclusive evidence establishing even an acquaintance between Jonson and Sandys and have found nothing; the question, therefore, remains open as to whether the "Johnson" on the list refers to Ben Jonson. The only other name on the list which is of interest to Sandys's literary career is the name added in Stansby's suit, Mr. Leawes. This presumably refers to Henry Lawes of the Chapel Royal, music teacher of the children of John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater, Viscount Brackley. In 1634 Lawes composed the music for Coelum Britannicum, a masque by Thomas Carew, another friend of Sandys, and the music for Milton's Comus. Later, in 1638, Lawes contributed to Sandys's A Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems, for the Psalms of David are "Set to new Turnes for private Devotion . . . By Henry Lawes Gentleman of His Majesties Chappell Royall."⁴⁰ Sandys undoubtedly directed the distribution of many other copies, but only these records have survived.

In the booksellers' stalls his impressive folio must have sold fairly well. Sometime between 1635 and 1639, Sir Thomas Barrington purchased a copy for fourteen shillings, a price well above average.⁴¹ Sandys apparently felt that the demand justified another quarto edition of the translation alone, which he prepared in 1638. In 1640 he prepared

another edition of the elaborate folio with its commentaries and illustrations. Five quarto editions followed in 1656, 1664, 1669, 1678 and 1690 to make a total of ten editions of the complete translation along with the three earlier incomplete editions. A large part of the continuing popularity of the quarto edition can be attributed to its use in the Restoration as a textbook and an aid for translation.

Contemporary allusions offer another means than press history for assessing the public's reaction to Sandys's work. The reactions range from the uncomplimentary poem:

We know thou dost well
As a translator,
But when things require
A genius and fire,
Not kindled before others' pains,
As often thou hast wanted brains.⁴²

to the excessive praise by the author of Vindex Anglicus (1644): "There is no sort of verse either ancient, or modern, which we are not able to equal by imitation; we have our English Virgil, Ovid, Seneca, Lucan, Juvenal, Martial, and Catullus: in the Earl of Surrey, Daniel, Johnson, Spencer, Don, Shakespear, and the glory of the rest, Sandys and Sydney."⁴³ The author's bias is apparent in the subtitle of the book, "the Perfections of the English language defended and asserted."

The earliest reference which I have found establishes a device for praise which many of the later poets who compliment Sandys adopt for their own use. This piece of flattery involves the use of the idea of metamorphosis to praise Sandys's translation. William Hemming, the son of the actor and editor of Shakespeare, in his "Elegy on Randolph's Finger" (ca. 1632) mentions:

commentaries on Ovid, the "pith" before enclosed in "the hiding bark." Later in a commendatory verse to Sandys's 1640 translation of Grotius' Christs Passion he pauses briefly again to praise the earlier translation of Ovid which made the transmutations appear "not strange."⁵⁰

Sandys's translation merited mention in the verse surveys of the state of poetry by his contemporaries. Drayton's "Epistle to Reynolds" has already been discussed. George Daniel of Beswick (1616-1657) in "A Vindication of Poesie" devotes two stanzas to Sandys one discusses his Metamorphosis and the other his paraphrases. He notes that Sandys translated Ovid "in a wild & remote Land" and then praises the work for flying beyond Ovid's.⁵¹ Suckling's "A Sessions of the Poets" (ca. 1637-38) introduced the use of trials as a device for assessing contemporary writers. Suckling places Sandys along with five other figures in one stanza:

There Selden, and he sate hard by the chair;
Wenman not far off, which was very fair;
Sands with Townsend, for they kept no order;
Digby and Shillingsworth a little further⁵²

His critical comments are not very valuable, for by his own admission Suckling "lov'd not the Muses so well as his sport," but the grouping of these figures is of some interest.⁵³ One editor has described the poem as ". . . being concerned not so much with the world of letters as the literary environs of Viscount Falkland's house at Tew . . . ," and this stanza offers some substantiation for the assertion.⁵⁴ The majority of the persons mentioned are not poets, while all but one of them, Townshend, have been associated with Falkland at Great Tew.⁵⁵ In addition to Suckling's "Sessions," The Great Assises Holden in Parnassus by Apollo and His assessors (1654), which is attributed to George Wither, also mentions Sandys. In The Great Assises Sandys is a juror along with Wither, Carew, May, Davenant, Sylvester, Drayton, Beaumont, Fletcher, Heywood, Shakespeare and Massinger.

The contemporary newspapers, not the poets, are the ones arraigned. One of the defendants, Britanicus, attempts to have Sandys and Sylvester removed from the jury on the grounds that they are mere translators lacking in invention:

Yea all the workes of these Translators vaine,
Are rather labours of the hand, then braine⁵⁶

Apollo the judge cuts off the speech of Britanicus to defend the two translators. He notes their royal sanction and argues that translations keep the infirmer sex from getting "more tongues then one."⁵⁷ Finally he asserts that even if they do not deserve the title of true poets, their truth and loyalty allow them to sit as jurors. As shown in the defense of Sandys and Sylvester, the poet did not allow the jurors to escape criticism, for the argument that they are useful in pleasing the fancy of women hardly compliments them.

With the Restoration the tone of the allusions begins gradually to shift from one of uncritical praise to critical assessment of Sandys as a translator. Thomas Fuller's sketch of Sandys in his Worthies of England reveals the renewed interest in the theories of translation which had begun during the Civil War and Interregnum. Denham initiated this renewal with an attack (in a commendatory verse to Fanshawe's 1648 translation of Pastor Fido) on "That servile path" of tracing the author "word by word and line by line."⁵⁸ He continues his attack on literal translation in his preface to the Destruction of Troy (1656) and Cowley also took up the attack in the preface to his Pindaric Odes (1656). The general renewal of interest in translation and probably the attacks of Denham and Cowley have their effect on Fuller's discussion of Sandys. Fuller commences by using a device of praise already employed by Sheppard in his Epigrams (1651), the transmigration of Ovid's soul into Sandys:

He most elegantly translated "Ovid's Metamorphoses" into English verse; so that, as the soul of Aristotle was said to have transmigrated into Thomas Aquinas (because rendering his sense so naturally), Ovid's genius may seem to have passed into Master Sandys. He was a servant, but no slave, to his subject; well knowing that a translator is a person in free custody; custody being bound to give the true sense of the author he translated; free, left at liberty to clothe it in his own expression.⁵⁹

Fuller's emphasis on Sandys's use of his own expression defends him against any accusation of being a literal, that is, a word-by-word translator.

Fuller's defense did not have any effect on William Winstanley, the author of The Lives of the Most Famous English Poets (1687). He borrows Fuller's anecdote of the transmigration of Ovid's soul (much of the phrasing is identical) and then adds: "rendring it to the full heighth, line for line with the Latin, together with most excellent Annotations upon each Fable."⁶⁰ Although the two descriptions are not necessarily contradictory, Winstanley's gives Sandys's work a stronger association with the literal theory of translation. His is the earliest comment which mentions Sandys's compactness.

Sir Samuel Garth takes up similar points of criticism in the preface to his 1711 edition of the Metamorphoses translated by several authors:

Translation is commonly either verbal, or paraphrase, or imitation; of the first is Mr. Sands's, which I think the Metamorphoses, can by no means allow of. It is agreed, the author left it unfinish'd . . . but where a poem is tedious through exuberance, or dark through a hasty brevity, I think the translator may be excus'd for doing what the author upon revising, wou'd have done himself.

If Mr. Sands had been of this opinion, perhaps other translations of the Metamorphoses had not been attempted.

A critick has observ'd, that in his version of this book, he has scrupulously confin'd the number of his lines to those of the original. 'Tis fit I should take the sum upon content, and be better bred, than to count after him.

The manner that seems most suited for this present undertaking, is neither to follow the author too close out of a critical timorousness; nor abandon him too wantonly through a poetick boldness.⁶¹

The "critick" to whom Garth refers might have been Winstanley. In any

case, Garth's statement continues the association of Sandys and a literal (in this case verbal) theory of translation and clearly states the false belief that Sandys limited his translation to the exact number of lines in the Latin original.

Dryden's two critical comments on Sandys's translation differ significantly but the circumstances surrounding the two statements suggest that the later of the two has greater validity. In the dedication of Examen Poeticum (1693) Dryden mentions that Chapman professes to have translated Homer "somewhat paraphrastically" and then continues:

Sure I am, that if it be a fault, 'tis much more pardonable than that of those, who run into the other extreme of a literal and close translation, where the poet is confined so straitly to his author's words, that he wants elbow-room to express his elegancies. He leaves him obscure; he leaves him prose, where he found him verse; and no better than thus has Ovid been served by the so-much-admired Sandys. This is at least the idea which I have remaining of his translation; for I never read him since I was a boy. They who take him upon content, from the praises which their fathers gave him, may inform their judgment by reading him again, and see (if they understand the original) what is become of Ovid's poetry in his version; whether it be not all, or the greatest part of it evaporated. But this proceeded from the wrong judgment of the age in which he lived. They neither knew good verse, nor loved it; they were scholars, 'tis true, but they were pedants; and for a just reward of their pedantic pains, all their translations want to be translated into English.⁶²

The validity of Dryden's opinion can be better assessed when it is compared with his later judgment, but other relevant information can now be drawn from his comments. Dryden gives us his view of Sandys's reputation in the previous generation when he mentions the praises their fathers gave him and the description, the "so-much-admired Sandys," implies that the general reading public still held a high opinion of him. Dryden's assessment of Sandys as a literal translator follows Cowley's opinion of Sandys's paraphrases and Winstanley's observations. The association of Sandys with a literal translation thus gradually became a part of his literary reputation. Dryden's statement, however, that he last read Sandys as a boy weakens the

force of his critical observations.

Between 1693 and 1700 Dryden had good reason to refresh his knowledge of Sandys's work, for in 1700 he published translations of some of the stories from the Metamorphoses. He apparently did reread Sandys, for his critical opinion of the translation has risen sharply when he mentions it in the preface to the Fables (1700). He describes how he was drawn into translating Ovid and then, after listing the tales which he translated, he proceeds:

. . . I hope I have translated closely enough, and given them the same turn of verse which they had in the original; and this, I may say, without vanity, is not the talent of every poet. He who has arrived the nearest to it, is the ingenious and learned Sandys, the best versifier of the former age⁶³

In this passage, Dryden associates Sandys with the type of translation which he follows, paraphrase, where the ". . . words are not so strictly followed as his sense; and that too is admitted to be amplified, but not altered."⁶⁴ The praise is high, coming as it does from a skilled poet who had just finished translating Ovid himself.

Pope's only comment on Sandys's translations supports Dryden's judgments in the preface to the Fables. In Book XXII of his translation of the Iliad (1720) Pope relies on Sandys's Relation for some geographical substantiation of Homer's observations. After citing Sandys's observations he continues with an aside on Sandys:

I cannot but think that Gentleman must have been particularly diligent and curious in his Enquiries into the Remains of a Place so celebrated in Poetry; as he was not only perhaps the most learned, but one of the best Poets of his Time: I am glad of this occasion to do his Memory so much Justice as to say, the English Versification owes much of its Improvement to his Translations, and especially that admirable one of Job.⁶⁵

Pope's praise "one of the best Poets of his Time" is more qualified than Dryden's, but he goes on to attribute a significant influence to

his translations. Both Dryden and Pope, the two greatest poets in an age when the art of translation was taken very seriously, commend Sandys's work.

The only references to Sandys of any significance after these are Samuel Johnson's. He links Ben Jonson, Thomas May, Sandys and Barton Holyday together as literal translators in his 1759 Idler essay on translation.⁶⁶ In his life of Dryden he makes another reference to Sandys, relating an account of him which supports his reputation as a literal translator: "It is said that Sandys, whom Dryden calls the best versifier of the last age, has struggled hard to comprise every book of the English Metamorphoses in the same number of verses with the original."⁶⁷ Sandys's reputation as a compact, literal translator has become anecdotal by the time of Samuel Johnson. Johnson's comments are the latest published discussions of Sandys which I have found before the advent of modern scholarship. Keats did use Sandys as a source book but he never discusses him.

The reputation of Sandys's translation lasted far beyond his time, but even when he was publishing his finest edition, his interests were changing from classical scholarship to the religious controversies of his day and the translation of religious texts (a similar turn to religion during this period occurs in the lives of Herbert, Ferrar, and Falkland). Some of this change of interests must be attributed to Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland and the circle at Great Tew. Anthony Wood, in his sketch of Falkland, describes Falkland's relationship with Sandys: "He had also intimate acquaintance with George Sandys the Poet, who usually lived at Caswell, near to Witney, in the house of Sir Franc. Wenman, who married

his Sister; whose company was usually frequented, when Lucius retired to his house at Burford."⁶⁸ The gathering of scholars, poets and theologians at Falkland's two Oxfordshire estates, Burford and Great Tew, began respectively after 1631 and 1632 and lasted throughout the 1630s.⁶⁹ Falkland definitely knew of Sandys by 1632, for he refers to him in a verse epistle to Ben Jonson which Jonson had in his possession by February 4, 1631/32.⁷⁰ He probably met Sandys through their common interest in the classics before the gatherings at Burford and Great Tew began. By 1628, according to Clarendon, Falkland was "master of the Latine tounge, and had reade all the Poetts and other best Authors with notable judgement for that age."⁷¹ Sometime during 1630 Falkland decided to leave London and stay at Burford. Clarendon relates the circumstances of the decision, along with the later growth of the Great Tew circle:

He [Falkland] was constant and pertinacious in whatsoever he resolved to doe, and not to be wearyed by any paynes that were necessary to that end, and therfore havinge once resolved not to see London (which he loved above all places) till he had perfectly learned the greeke tonge, he went to his owne house in the Country, and pursued it with that indefatigable industry, that it will not be believed, in how shorte a tyme he was master of it, and accurately reade all the Greeke Historyans. In this tyme, his house beinge within tenn myles of Oxford, he contracted familiarity and frendshipp with the most polite and accurate men of that University; who founde such an immensenesse of witt, and such a solididity of judgement in him, so infinite a fancy bounde in by a most logicall ratiocination, such a vast knowledge, that he was not ignorant in any thinge, yet such an excessive humility as if he had knowne nothinge, that they frequently resorted and dwelt with him, as in a Colledge scituated in a purer ayre, so that his house was a University bounde in a lesser volume, wither they came not so much for repose, as study: and to examyne and refyne those grosser propositions, which lazinesse and consent made currant in vulgar conversation.⁷²

During the spring of 1631 before the circle at Great Tew was formed, Falkland and Sir Francis Wenman were acquaintances, and if Sandys visited Oxfordshire, then he probably met Falkland, for he usually stayed at Wenman's house.⁷³ If Sandys used the Oxford Libraries for any of his commentaries, or if he were there to arrange the printing, he might also

have met Falkland at the university, since they were both involved in classical scholarship and would presumably have had many common acquaintances among the Oxford dons.

Later during 1632-33, when the Great Tew circle began to form, Sandys was one of its members. A list of Falkland's guests suggests the group in which Sandys circulated during the latter years of his life:

Thomas Barlow, William Chillingworth, John Duncon, John Earle, George Eglionby, Charles Gataker, Sidney Godolphin, Henry Hammond, Edward Hyde, George Morley, Sir Henry Rainsford the younger, Dr. Walter Raleigh, George Sandys, Gilbert Sheldon, Thomas Triplet, Edmund Waller, Sir Francis Wenman and Patrick Young.⁷⁴

Most of these people were associated with the church, but hints of Falkland's poetic interests also appear in the list. Godolphin, Sandys and Waller are in the list and Abraham Cowley was also associated with Great Tew.⁷⁵

Falkland was a great admirer of Ben Jonson and considered himself one of the "Sons of Ben."⁷⁶ He wrote exceptionally good poetry. An excerpt from his commendatory poem on Sandys's Paraphrase upon the Psalmes of David (1636) reveals Falkland's control of the heroic couplet:

Those who make wit their curse, who spend their brain,
Their time, and art in looser verse, to gain
Damnation and a mistres, till they see
How constant that is, how inconstant she:
May from this great example learne to sway
The parts th' are blest with, some more blessed way.⁷⁷

His poetic achievement, though small in volume, has been unjustly neglected, except by William Bowman Piper who has stated: "At his brief best . . . Falkland produced the finest closed-couplet poetry before Dryden."⁷⁸

The possibility of attributing the development of the closed heroic couplet to the poets at Great Tew (Falkland, Waller and Sandys) is tempting, but not enough evidence has survived of the poetic activity at Great Tew to justify this. However, some interesting hints concerning the role Sandys played among these poets have survived. He was much older

than Falkland and Waller, and their respect for him appears in their commendatory verses to his works. Exactly how strongly Sandys influenced the poetic style of these younger poets is not easy to ascertain, but at least one contemporary regarded Sandys as a poetic influence upon Falkland. Robert Cresswell, a friend of Cowley, wrote an occasional poem "To y^e most Accomplish'tt his Honour'd Patron. y^e Lo: Falkland. upon y^e Receipt of a Booke, wth a Lre, from his lo^p."79 The poem is full of excessive praise, but two of the lines on his poetry are quite just:

You leade the Triumph of Immortall Ben
And fluent Sands, runs brighter from your Pen
This credits the Profession!80

The assertion of Sandys's influence upon Waller has been attributed to a much greater poet, Alexander Pope. In his Life of Alexander Pope Owen Ruffhead asserted that Pope had once intended to write a discourse on the rise and progress of English poetry "according to their several schools and successions, as appears from the list underneath."81 In the list George Sandys "in his Par. of Job" and Edward Fairfax appear as the models in versification for Waller. Pope's praise of Sandys in his annotation in Book XXII of his Iliad lends credibility to Ruffhead's list.82 These comments suggest that Sandys influenced the poets in Falkland's circle.

However, not all the discussion at Falkland's estates centered on poetry, for most of the guests, as we have seen, were associated with the church. Sandys, the son of the Archbishop of York, would have been familiar with religious discussion and no doubt shared his countrymen's concern over the growing religious controversies. His decision to paraphrase the Psalms and to translate Grotius' tragedy, Christs Passion, may well have been influenced by Falkland and the theological discussions that took up so much of the time at his manors. Falkland greatly admired Grotius, as is

evident in his commendatory verse to Sandys's translation, and he was probably the person who persuaded Sandys to translate him.

The Psalm controversy also affected his decision to undertake such a serious and lengthy task as translating the Psalms. The Sternhold and Hopkins version had become the national Psalter. King James and later King Charles both wanted to replace Sternhold and Hopkins, and in 1631 a new authorized version was published. The public reaction against it was so strong that its acceptance as the national Psalter was not enforced.⁸³ Sandys might have had in his mind the idea of preparing a better version. Anthony Wood in his explanation of Bishop Henry King's motives for translating the Psalms, attributes this motive to Sandys and then tells why Sandys's version failed: it was "too elegant for the vulgar use, changing both meter and tunes, wherewith they had been long acquainted."⁸⁴ In spite of this rejection Sandys did receive a patent from Charles in 1635 and continued his work with later additions to his initial 1636 edition. Beyond these motives for paraphrasing the Psalms I might add that it was highly fashionable to undertake such a task (two hundred and six versions of the complete Psalter were published between 1600 and 1653).⁸⁵ A list of some of the more famous contemporaries of Sandys who translated the Psalter or select passages includes Sir Philip Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke, Bacon, King James (aided by Sir William Alexander), George Herbert, Milton and George Wither.⁸⁶ Among Sandys's associates, his brother Sir Edwin Sandys, Henry King and Thomas Carew had attempted the task. Given the number of versions published, the comments which Dryden later made on Sandys's paraphrases become very high praise.

During the last decade of his life Sandys published four religious translations: A Paraphrase upon the Psalmes of David (1636), A Paraphrase

upon the Divine Poems (1638), Christs Passion (1640) and A Paraphrase upon the Song of Solomon (1641). A list of the commendatory poems attached to the Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems provides another indication of the poetic circle which Sandys frequented: two poems by Falkland, single poems by Henry King, Sidney Godolphin, Thomas Carew, Dudley Digges, Francis Wyatt, Henry Rainsford, Edmund Waller and Wintoure Grant. A Paraphrase upon the Psalmes of David had verses by Falkland and Dudley Digges, and Christs Passion contained a poem by Falkland. Dudley Digges and Francis Wyatt were kinsmen. Many of the gentlemen in the list had associations with the court circle. Carew and Waller were in favour at court for their poetry, and Grant, Carew and Godolphin were Gentlemen of the Chamber at court.⁸⁷ These associations suggest Sandys's social position was more or less in the outer edge of the court circle.

All of Sandys's religious paraphrases, like his Relation and his Metamorphosis, were dedicated to Charles. Charles evidently appreciated Sandys's efforts, for he is known to have read Sandys's Paraphrases upon the Psalmes of David during his imprisonment on the Isle of Wight.⁸⁸ The 1636 edition contains Sandys's best original poem in heroic couplets entitled "Deo Opt. Max."⁸⁹ Some copies of the 1638 paraphrases have two additional dedicatory poems: "To the Queene of Bohemia" and "To his Grace of Canterbury."⁹⁰ Another 1638 edition which has a manuscript copy of Sandys's "Song of Solomon" bound into the text, is a presentation copy to the great art collector, Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel.⁹¹

Davis provides one indication of the contemporary popularity of Sandys's religious paraphrases in his study of Sandys's "Song of Solomon." He has located seven manuscript versions of the "Song," all of which he dates before 1641.⁹² The quality of Sandys's verse also attracted

musicians: Henry Purcell, Henry Lawes and a minor composer, Henry Porter, all set various parts of his religious paraphrases to music.⁹³ Nevertheless, Sandys's religious paraphrases did not sell as well as his Metamorphosis. The 1636 edition was published only once and the 1638 only three times (1638, 1648 and 1676).⁹⁴ Christs Passion went through four editions (two issues in 1640, and one each in 1687 and 1693) and the Song of Solomon had two editions in 1641 and 1642.⁹⁵

The allusions to Sandys's paraphrases are generally positive with the exception of Cowley's criticism. In his preface to the Pindaric Odes (1656) Cowley attacks word-for-word translators and cites the existing versions of the Psalms of David as examples of literal translation which are poorer than the original. He continues:

. . . all the Translators . . . (even Mr. Sands himself; for despite of popular error, I will be bold not to except him) for this very reason. that they have not sought to supply the lost Excellencies of another Language with new ones in their own; are so far from doing honour, or at least Justice to that Divine Poet, that methinks they revile him worse than Shimei.⁹⁶

Cowley's own comments show that Sandys was generally seen in a more favorable light and that this judgment is an exception. A contemporary of Sandys, Thomas Pestil, has higher praise for him in a commendatory poem for Edward Benlowe's Theophila (1652):

But your first love was pure: whose ev'ry dress
Is inter-tissu'd Wit and Holiness;
And mends upon itself; whose streams (that meet
With Sands' and Herbert's) grow more deep, more sweet.⁹⁷

Richard Baxter in his Poetical Fragments similarly regards Herbert and Sandys as the best religious poets:

But I must confess, after all that next the Scripture Poems, there are none so savoury to me as Mr. George Herbert's and Mr. George Sandys's . . . And George Sandys
Omne Tulit punctum, dum miscuit utile dulci.
His Scripture Poems are an elegant and excellent Paraphrase: But especially his Job, whom he hath restored to the original glory. 0

that he had turned the Psalms into Metre fitted to the usual Tunes!⁹⁸

Dryden also values Sandys's paraphrases highly: in An Essay of Dramatic Poesy Neander (Dryden) in illustrating the adage that ". . . betwixt the shaking off an old habit, and the introducing of a new, there should be difficulty . . . ," selects Sandys's paraphrases as the version that should have replaced the old Sternhold and Hopkins translation of the Psalms.⁹⁹ I have already quoted Pope's praise of Sandys's translations where he selected the paraphrase of Job as the best. The paraphrases were still read after Pope for in a journal entry dated March 15, 1795 the Reverend William Bagshaw Stevens writes:

My birthday. The Unhappy Collins [William Collins, the poet] when at College delighted to repeat the following lines from Sandys's Old Translation of Job:

O perish may the day which first gave light
To me most wretched and the fatal night
Of my conception. Let that day be bound
In clouds of pitch nor walk the etherial round
Let God not write it in his roll of days
Not let the sun restore it with its rays
Oh be that dismal night forever blind
Lost in itself not to the day rejoin'd
Nor number'd in the swift circumference
Of months and years ---"¹⁰⁰

R.B. Davis cites some additional praise from scholars of psalmody, but the reference to Collins is the last indication I have found of any literary figures reading Sandys's paraphrases.¹⁰¹

The 1641 Song of Solomon was the last work Sandys published. By the time of his death in 1643 he was, according to Anthony Wood, "then or lately one of the gent. of the privy chamber to K. Ch. I." (the statement is probably accurate although there is no documentation to support it).¹⁰² In March 1643/44 Sandys died at Boxley Abbey in Kent. His death was recorded by Aubrey among the notes for his Lives:

In Boxley register thus:--'Georgius Sandys, poetarum Anglorum

sui saeculi facile princeps, sepultus fuit Martii 7, stilo Anglicano, anno Domini 1643.'

I happened to speake with his niece, my lady Wyat, at whose howse, viz. at Boxley abbey, he dyed. She saies he told her a little before he dyed that he was about 63.

He lies buried in the chancel neer the dore on the south side, but without any remembrance or stone--which is pittie so sweet a swan should lye so ingloriously.¹⁰³

The poet-translator Thomas Stanley and the Cavalier poet Richard Lovelace were among the relatives who survived him.¹⁰⁴ Only a relative (otherwise unknown), William Hammond, and Thomas Philpott, a contemporary minor poet, wrote elegies on his death.¹⁰⁵

In addition to Aubrey's note, Fuller in his Worthies of England and Anthony Wood in the 1721 addition to Athenae Oxonienses published sketches of Sandys's life.¹⁰⁶ The collections of lives of poets, which became popular after the Restoration, also included Sandys's life. Between Edward Phillips's Theatrum Poetarum in 1675 and Cibber's Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland in 1753 at least five other collections included vignettes of varying length on Sandys and his work.¹⁰⁷

As this survey reveals, there is not a large amount of historical information on Sandys's literary life but the information gathered does allow some conclusions. Sandys's literary acquaintances were mainly court or Cavalier poets. A royalist and probable Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, he dedicated all his works to Charles, first as Prince of Wales and then as King. Contemporary accounts give Falkland and Thomas Carew as his poetical acquaintances and the court poets, Sidney Godolphin and Edmund Waller, wrote commendatory poems to his works.¹⁰⁸ The exact extent of his influence upon the formation of the closed heroic couplet (through his contact with Waller and his close association with Falkland in the literary circle at Great Tew) remains undetermined for very few records remain of the literary activity at Great Tew. However, both Falkland's

strong admiration of Sandys, and Pope's opinion that Sandys's paraphrase of Job influenced Waller's versification argue for Sandys's influence upon the contemporary development of the closed heroic couplet.

Sandys's poetic reputation poses a less difficult problem than that of his influence on the poets at Great Tew. His reputation grew out of his translation of Ovid and his religious paraphrases. The initial references to his Metamorphosis consist mainly of uncritical flattery. Then during the Restoration the quality of his translation became the main subject of critical discussion with critics differing as to whether Sandys's translation was literal or, to use Dryden's term, a paraphrase. The critical comments on the religious paraphrases, though few in number, offer consistently high praise from such poet-critics as Dryden and Pope. George Sandys was, then, a minor Caroline court poet whose translations and paraphrases held some interest for the Restoration and eighteenth century.

NOTES

¹Crum, ed., Poems of Henry King, 3.

²Sandys, Poetical Works, I, xci.

³Davis, George Sandys, 89.

⁴For a general discussion of Sandys's influence see: Davis, George Sandys, 89-90. My survey is largely indebted to this passage. For Sandys's influence on later travel literature see Fellheimer, "The Section on Italy in the Elizabethan Translations of Giovanni Botero's Relationi universali," EM, VIII (1957), 289-306; Purchas, Purchas His Pilgrimes, Bk. VI, ch. VIII, Bk. VII, ch. VIII; Davis, George Sandys, 89, n. 66, 90.

⁵Cawley, Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama, passim.

⁶Walton, Compleat Angler, 28; Johnson, Works, VI, 109.

⁷Montagu, Letters and Works, I, 377, 379.

⁸For a bibliographical description of all editions of Sandys's translation printed in England before 1700 see Bowers and Davis, "George Sandys: A Bibliographical Catalogue of Printed Editions in England to 1700," BNYPL, LIV, (1950), 223-44.

⁹Johnson, Works, II, 215-16.

¹⁰McManaway, "The First Five Bookes of Ovids Metamorphosis 1621, Englished by Master George Sandys," SB, I, 71-82.

¹¹Drayton, Works, III, 206-8.

¹²Ibid., 208, ll. 80-81.

¹³Ibid., 207, ll. 37-42.

¹⁴The Oxford English Dictionary cites this passage from Drayton.

¹⁵Davis, George Sandys, 140; Sandys, Metamorphosis, a3r.

¹⁶Drayton, Works, III, 208, ll. 79-80.

¹⁷Ibid., ll. 93-102.

¹⁸Ibid., l. 103.

¹⁹Ibid., 230, ll. 157-62.

²⁰Davis, George Sandys, 140.

²¹See Davis, "In Re George Sandys' Ovid," SB, VIII (1956), 226-30.

²²Rymer, Foedera, XVIII, 676.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Sandys, Metamorphosis, a2r.

²⁵Ibid., 326.

²⁶The two preliminary gatherings, some of the illustrations, and part of another gathering were printed in London with the rest printed at Oxford. See Davis, "George Sandys v. William Stansby . . .," Library, Ser. 5, III (1948), 206-10.

²⁷Davis, George Sandys, 228-29.

²⁸Ibid., 229-30.

²⁹Weber, Lucius Cary, 281.

³⁰Ibid., 284.

³¹Trevor-Roper, Archbishop Laud, 113-18, 273-77.

³²For the dedicatory verse see Davis, "Two New Manuscript Items for a George Sandys Bibliography," Bibliographical Society of America, XXXVII (1943), 220-22.

³³Davis, "George Sandys v. William Stansby . . . ," Library, ser. 5, III (1948), 193-212; Davis, "In Re George Sandys' Ovid," SB, VIII (1956), 228-30.

³⁴Davis, "George Sandys v. William Stansby . . . ," Library, ser. 5, III (1948), 204; Bowers and Davis, "George Sandys: A Bibliographical Catalogue of Printed Editions in England to 1700," BNYPL, LIV (1950), 228.

³⁵Davis, "George Sandys v. William Stansby . . . ," Library, ser. 5, III (1948), 198-99.

³⁶Ibid., 201.

³⁷G.C. Moore Smith mentions another presentation copy to Dorothy Osborne in Letters of Dorothy Osborne to William Temple, 269-70, n. 16.

³⁸Davis, "George Sandys v. William Stansby . . . ," Library, ser. 5, III (1948), 198, n. 11.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Sandys, A Paraphrase upon the Divine Poems, (glr).

⁴¹Johnson, Francis R., "Notes on English Retail Book-prices, 1550-1640," Library, ser. 5, V (1950), 107.

⁴²Sandys, Poetical Works, I, xli.

⁴³The first poem is quoted in Sandys, Poetical Works, I, xli. Hooper does not identify the author or the source, and I have not been able to locate it. Vindex Anglicus is reprinted in Harleian Miscellany, V, 431.

⁴⁴William Hemminge's Elegy on Randolphs Finger, 13, ll. 69-70.

⁴⁵Ibid., 1.

⁴⁶Ashmole MS. 47, no. 180; reprinted in Sandys, Poetical Works, I, lxxi-lxxiv, ll. 70-74.

⁴⁷Wit's Recreation in Facetiae Musarum Deliciae, II, 10.

⁴⁸Rollins, "Samuel Sheppard and His Praise of Poets," SP, XXIV, 553.

⁴⁹Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, II, 567; Sandys, Poetical Works, I, 85.

⁵⁰Sandys, Poetical Works, II, 415.

⁵¹George Daniel, Selected Poems of George Daniel of Beswick, 13, 11. 103-14.

⁵²Suckling, "A Sessions of the Poets," in Minor Poets of the Seventeenth Century, 185, 11. 10-14.

⁵³Ibid., 187, 1. 83.

⁵⁴Taylor, Literary Criticism of Seventeenth-Century England, 263.

⁵⁵Weber, Lucius Cary, 82.

⁵⁶Wither, Great Assises, 10.

⁵⁷Ibid., 11.

⁵⁸Denham, Poetical Works, 143, 11. 15-16.

⁵⁹Fuller, Worthies of England, III, 434.

⁶⁰Winstanley, Lives of the Most Famous English Poets, 153.

⁶¹Garth, ed., Ovid's Metamorphoses, xlix-1.

⁶²Dryden, Essays, II, 9-10.

⁶³Ibid., II, 247.

⁶⁴Ibid., I, 237.

⁶⁵Pope, Works, VIII, 463, n. 196; Pope also mentions Sandys in a minor poem "Sandys Ghost" (Works, VI, 170). The poem suggests that Samuel Molyneux relied on Sandys's efforts for his own translation of Ovid.

⁶⁶Johnson, Works, II, 215-16.

⁶⁷Johnson, Lives of the English Poets, I, 232.

⁶⁸Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, II, 567.

⁶⁹Davis, George Sandys, 231.

⁷⁰Weber, Lucius Cary, 281.

⁷¹Clarendon, "Lord Falkland," from Life, in Characters of the Seventeenth Century, ed. Nichol Smith, 87.

⁷²Clarendon, "Lord Falkland," from History, in Characters of the Seventeenth Century, ed. Nichol Smith, 72-73.

⁷³Weber, Lucius Cary, 75.

⁷⁴Ibid., 82.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Ibid., 281. Falkland addresses the letter to Jonson "Dear Father."

⁷⁷Falkland, "To My Noble Friend . . . ," in Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library, III, 431.

⁷⁸Piper, Heroic Couplet, 78.

⁷⁹Weber, Lucius Cary, 122-24.

⁸⁰Ibid., 124.

⁸¹Ruffhead, Life of Alexander Pope, 424-25.

⁸²Pope, Works, VIII, 463, n. 196.

⁸³Patrick, Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody, 83-88.

⁸⁴Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, III, 840-41.

⁸⁵Carey and Fowler, eds., Poems of John Milton, 6.

⁸⁶Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, 73.

⁸⁷Davis, George Sandys, 227.

⁸⁸Herbert, Memoires de Sir Thomas Herbert, 43; Davis, George Sandys, 243, n. 61.

⁸⁹Sandys, Poetical Works, II, 403-6.

⁹⁰Davis, "Two New Manuscript Items for a George Sandys Bibliography," Bibliographical Society of America, XXXVII (1943), 215-22.

⁹¹Ibid., 217-20; Davis, "Sandys' Song of Solomon: Its Manuscript Versions and Their Circulation," PBSA, L (1956), 333-34.

⁹²Davis, "Sandys' Song of Solomon: Its Manuscript Versions and their Circulation," PBSA, L (1956), 340.

⁹³The publication of Lawes's work has already been discussed; for the Purcell manuscript see Crum, ed., First Line Index of English Poetry. . . , II, MS. 0529; Wood mentions Porter's use of Sandys in Fasti Oxonienses, ed. Bliss, II, 284.

⁹⁴Bowers and Davis, "George Sandys: A Bibliographical Catalogue of Printed editions in England to 1700," BNYPL, LIV (1950), 236-44.

⁹⁵Ibid., 280-86.

⁹⁶Cowley, Abraham Cowley: Essays and Other Prose Writings, 19-20.

⁹⁷Pestil, "For the Author, truly Heroic, by Blood, Virtue, Learning," in Minor Poets of the Caroline Period, I, 328.

⁹⁸Baxter, Poetical Fragments, a8r-v.

⁹⁹Dryden, Essays, I, 99-100.

¹⁰⁰Stevens, The Journal of the Rev. William Bagshaw Stevens, 243-44.

¹⁰¹Davis, George Sandys, 244.

¹⁰²Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, III, 100; see also Davis, George Sandys, 283-85.

¹⁰³Aubrey, Aubrey's 'Brief Lives', II, 212-13.

¹⁰⁴Stanley, Poems and Translations of Thomas Stanley, xxii; Lovelace, Poetical Works, 237.

¹⁰⁵Hammond, "On the death of my much honoured Uncle Mr. G. Sandys," in Minor Poets of the Caroline Period, II, 518; Philpott, Poems, 19-21.

¹⁰⁶Fuller, History of the Worthies of England, III, 434; Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, ed. Bliss, III, 97-103. David Lloyd also gave a brief sketch of Sandys's life in his Memoires, 637.

¹⁰⁷Philips, Theatrum Poetarum, II, 56; William Winstanley, Lives of the most Famous English Poets, 152-53; Gerard Langbaine, An Account of the English Dramatick Poets, 436-38; Gerard Langbaine, Lives and Characters of English Dramatick Poets, 121; Giles Jacob, An Historical Account of the Lives and Writings of Our Most Considerable English Poets, 175-76; G.J., The Poetical Register, 218-19; T. Cibber, Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland, 282-85.

¹⁰⁸Anthony Wood (Athenae Oxonienses, II, 658) lists Sandys as one of Carew's "poetical acquaintances."

CHAPTER III

SANDYS'S TRANSLATION

The accomplishments and shortcomings of Sandys's translation best appear in comparison, comparison not only with Ovid but also with Golding and Dryden. The peculiar characteristics of Ovid's style in the Metamorphoses and the problems the translator encounters when he attempts to recreate the Ovidian effects in English emerge readily enough from these comparisons. Setting Ovid's Latin against the English version reveals the manner in which each translator chose to be faithful to the original. Once the specific characteristics of Sandys's work are defined, the possible influence of contemporary theories of translation upon his efforts also invites consideration. In addition to judging the works as translations, throughout the chapter the contrasts among the various English translations also elicit the most important judgements on the accomplishments and failures of each version as English poetry.

Sandys's work had been preceded by only one other English translation of the Metamorphoses, that of Arthur Golding. When the two translations are compared with their original, Golding's obvious lack of fidelity to Ovid's poem appears. This failure to respect the original, a failure which must have influenced Sandys's endeavors, appears in many different ways. That Golding took 2,500 additional lines to translate the Metamorphoses is the most obvious.¹ Sandys, who was translating

that Ovid is frequently repetitious (the repetitions of a master rhetorician), for admitting the aptness of Dryden's characterization of the Metamorphoses as luxuriant only forces the conclusion that in Golding nature has run wild. Sandys, while retaining much of Ovid's rhetoric, has none of Golding's excesses.

Golding's diction also reflects his infidelity to Ovid. He Englishes all that comes before his eyes, "turning the sophisticated Roman into a ruddy country gentleman with tremendous gusto, a sharp eye on the life around him, an ear for racy speech, and a gift for energetic doggerel."¹¹ When Jove calls the gods to council, Golding speaks of him summoning his "Court of Parliament."¹² In this passage of Book I Sandys also uses a flagrant anachronism (the only one I have found), but there is justification for Sandys's apparent slip. Ovid, in describing the abodes of the gods, consciously makes a shocking and somewhat irreverent metaphor by comparing Jove's royal hall with the Palatia of Rome.¹³ Realizing that the shock would be lost if he retained Ovid's vehicle, Sandys compares Whitehall to Jove's royal hall and retains the Ovidian effect.¹⁴ Golding loses much of the effect of Ovid's metaphor by translating "Palatia" into "Pallace."¹⁵ Elsewhere in Golding's translation the "tiaris" of Midas becomes a "purple nyghtcappe," and Apollo's plectrum becomes a "bow" and his lyre a "viol."¹⁶ Ovid, in a rhetorically balanced sentence on the people telling tales in the house of Rumor, states that "some" fill idle ears here and "others" go tell elsewhere.¹⁷ Golding begins the first half with "sum" and, then, not satisfied with the balanced antithesis changes the "others" to "sum Colcaryers part doo play."¹⁸ Not even proper names escape him. The divinity of Circe and Lucina disappears when they become "Dame Circe" and "Dame Lucina."¹⁹

Much the same happens to the heroic qualities of Perseus and the divine gifts of Orpheus when they appear as "Persey" and "Orphye."²⁰ Golding all but destroys Ovid's effect when he concludes the account of the Iron Age with: "And Ladie Astrey, last / Of heavenly vertues, from this earth in slaughter drowned past."²¹

Sandys's diction is neither so unconventional nor so obtrusive. Occasional examples of Latinate diction occur. He describes Niobe as "obdur'd by illis."²² An arrow flies from an "impulsive" bowstring, and he uses the verbs "extirp" and "inhume."²³ When Latinate diction does occur, however, Ovid is frequently the source: some examples of this are "ambages," "interdicted," and "refulgent."²⁴

Sandys and Golding were both Christian and their faith did affect their view of Ovid, but in different ways. Golding imposes Christian material upon Ovid's poem when he translates. Ovid's "aede sacra" or holy place (Sandys correctly uses shrine) becomes first a "Chauncell" then a "holy Church;" Golding also transforms Ovid's "templa" into a "stately Church."²⁵ Pluto is labelled the "Prince of Fiendes" for Ovid's "tyrannus."²⁶ Aeneas is told by Sibyl that "godly folke" abide in the Elysian fields, and after his descent the "Trojane knyght" comes back to Cumae "fro Limbo."²⁷ Later, after the death of Aeneas, Jove proclaims "Aeneas woorthy is a saynct in heaven to bee."²⁸ In addition to the Christianizing of the Metamorphoses Golding also added a prefatory poem which presents both a Christian and a moral interpretation of many of the tales. Sandys offers a more sophisticated treatment of Ovid. He shows his respect for Ovid's work by not allowing any Christian trappings to distort the poem. His Christian interpretations are reserved for the commentaries.

Golding's Christian distortions have far less effect upon the translation than does his continual use of obscure diction drawn from dialect and Old English. No scholar suggests that Ovid used this type of diction so excessively. Such weird words as wooze, whewl, belk, corsie, throatboll, uppen, yest, awk, and chank have negative effects upon Golding's translation.²⁹ His continual use of this private idiom makes it more difficult for readers to comprehend his translation. This habit also limits his freedom to range from an elevated or high style to a low style, for the consistent use of this eccentric diction breaks down one of the means of distinguishing between the styles. This quirky diction, which can be found on every page, becomes one of the most pervasive faults of Golding's work when it is evaluated as a translation, yet, if this is put aside, the same diction provides one of the chief delights of the poem.³⁰

This continual use of this diction suggests that Golding did not fully appreciate Ovid's style, and, in fact, his inability to reproduce this sophisticated style appears in several passages which may easily be compared with Sandys's efforts. Ovid, in describing the Iron Age, tells of murderous stepmothers brewing deadly poisons: "lurida terribiles miscent aconita novercae" ³¹ "Lurida," is "transferred from the pale faces of the victims to the poison itself" ³² Golding does not retain this: "The stepdames fell their husbandes sonnes with poyson do assayle." ³³ Sandys keeps the transferred adjective in his faithful rendering of Ovid: "And cruell Stepmothers pale poysons fill." ³⁴ The Ovidian wordplay and rhetorical structure in Apollo's warning to Phaeton, "sors tua mortalis, non est mortale, quod optas," are lost by Golding:

Thy state is mortall, weake and frayle,
 the thing thou doest desire
 Is such, whereto no mortall man
 is able to aspire.³⁵

Sandys retains this in a concise line: "Thou, mortall, do'st no mortall thing desire" ³⁶ Later in the fable Golding with "And with their hoves they mainly beate upon the lattisde grate," ³⁷ misses the onomatopoeia of the horses of Phoebus pawing at their bars, "pedibusque repagula pulsan;" Sandys echoes Ovid: "And, with their thundring hooves, the barriers beat." ³⁸

These restricted examples suggest the need for a comparison of longer passages chosen to represent the major characteristics of Ovid's style. Such passages will show how Golding and Sandys handled problems which they continually encountered in translating the Metamorphoses. The comparisons will also bring out the advantages and flaws of Golding's fourteeners and Sandys's heroic couplets. Two major qualities of Ovid's Metamorphoses are its rhetorical nature and its polytonality: that is, the varied range of tones that occur in the poem. A passage on the death of Ajax reveals Golding's insensitivity to the rhetorical quality of Ovid's style.

Here is Ovid:

Hectora qui solus, qui ferrum ignesque Iovemque
 sustinuit totiens, unam non sustinet iram,
 invictumque virum vicit dolor: arripit ense
 et "meus hic certe est! an et hunc sibi poscit Ulixes?
 hoc" ait "utendum est in me mihi, quique cruore
 saepe Phrygum maduit, domini nunc caede madebit,
 ne quisquam Aiace[m] possit superare nisi Ajax."³⁹

Golding's expansive fourteeners offer a good comparison with Sandys's compression:

He that did so oft susteine
 Alone both fyre, and swoord, and Jove, and Hector could not byde
 One brunt of wrath. And whom no force could vanquish ere that tyde,
 Now only anguish overcommes. He drawes his swoord and sayes:
 Well: this is myne yit. Unto this no clayme Ulysses layes.
 This must I use against myself: this blade that heretofore
 Hath bathed beene in Trojane blood, must now his mayster gore
 That none may Ajax overcome save Ajax.⁴⁰

Here is Sandys:

Hee who alone, Jove, Hector, sword and fire
 So oft sustaind; yeelds to one stroke of ire.
 Th' unconquered, sorrow conquers. Then his blade
 In hast unsheath'd: Sure thou art mine, he said;
 Or seekes Ulysses this? this shall conclude
 All sense of wrong. And thee, so oft imbrude
 In Phrygian blood, thy Lord's must now imbrue:
 That none but Ajax Ajax may subdue.⁴¹

Golding, save for the last line, misses Ovid's play upon the tenses and cases of words that runs throughout the passage. Sandys loses the repetition in the first instance, "sustinuit . . . sustinet," but catches the next three. The demand for a regular meter dominates Golding in the second line where he fills out the fourteener with conjunctions unnecessary in English, ruining the blunt, heroic tone to be captured by Sandys. The flaccid "Well" which commences Ajax's speech again destroys the tone. The irony of the "or" in the next clause is again completely lost by Golding. In contrast Sandys's translation offers the blunt assertiveness which characterizes Ajax. With Ajax's final words, Sandys is the one who distorts by heightening the rhetorical antithesis and balance while Golding is closer to Ovid. Sandys, however, captures much more of the Ovidian tone than Golding.

Apollo's pursuit of Daphne offers an example of Ovid's range in tones. Before this fable, the style of Book I has been elevated; the tone has been epic, with the myths of creation, the fall of man, the flood, and the re-creation of man. After the tale of Deucalion

and Pyrrha, Ovid in one of his startling transitions briefly mentions the origin of the Pythian games (the contests being another epic convention), but this is only brought up as a means to introduce the tale of Daphne. In the fable Apollo, stricken by Cupid's arrow, sees Daphne, chases her, and persuades her to stop and listen to him. He then proclaims his divinity in epic tones, but Ovid does not allow him to keep this stature for long. Halfway through his speech he abruptly switches from a heroic god proclaiming his powers to an elegiac lover lamenting his plight. The situation and speech combine to deflate the epic dignity of the sun god.⁴² Here are the crucial lines:

nescis, temeraria, nescis,
quem fugias, ideoque fugis: mihi Delphica tellus
et Claros et Tenedos Patareaque regia servit;
Juppiter est genitor; per me, quod eritque fuitque
estque, patet; per me concordant carmina nervis.
certa quidem nostra est, nostra tamen una sagitta
certior, in vacuo quae vulnera pectore fecit!
inventum medicina meum est, opiferque per orbem
dicor, et herbarum subiecta potentia nobis.
ei mihi, quod nullis amor est medicabilis herbis
nec prosunt domino, quae prosunt omnibus, artes!⁴³

Both Golding and Sandys fall short of Ovid, but in different ways:

Thou doest not know, poore simple soule, God wote thou dost not knowe,
From whome thou fleest. For if thou knew, thou wouldste not flee me so.
In Delphos is my chiefe abode, my Temples also stande
At Glaros and at Patara within the Lycian lande.
And in the Ile of Tenedos the people honour mee.
The king of Gods himselfe is knowne my father for to bee.
By me is knowne that was, that is, and that that shall ensue,
By mee men learne to sundrie tunes to frame sweete ditties true.
In shooting have I stedfast hand, but surer hand had hee
That made this wound within my heart that heretofore was free.
Of Phisicke and of surgerie I found the Artes for neede,
The powre of everie herbe and plant doth of my gift proceede.
Nowe wo is me that nere an herbe can heale the hurt of love
And that the Artes that others helpe their Lord doth helpelesse prove.⁴⁴

Sandys is less redundant:

From whom thou fly'st thou know'st not (silly foole!)
And therefore fly'st thou. I in Delphos rule;

Ionian Claros, Lycian Patara,
 And Sea-girt Tenedos doe me obay.
Jove is my Father. What shall be, hath beene,
 Or is; by my instructive rayes is seene.
 Immortall Verse from our invention springs;
 And how to strike the well concording-strings.
 My shafts hit sure: yet He one surer found,
 Who in my emptie bosome made this wound.
 Of herbs I found the vertue; and through all
 The World they Me the great Physitian call.
 Ay me, that herbs can Love no cure afford!
 That Arts, releiving all, should faile their Lord!⁴⁵

Some of the flaws in the translations are characteristic of the two translators. Golding uses superfluous words to fill out his fourteeners ("God wote," "heretofore"), and adds repetitions ("Physicke and surgerie," and "herbe and plant"). Sandys, in his attempts to compress the hexameters into heroic couplets, leaves out parts of Apollo's description of himself as the god of medicine. He does, however, catch the epic boasting of Apollo better than Golding. Compare "silly foole" with "poore simple soule," Sandys's placement of "I" at the beginning of his second sentence with Golding's "In Delphos is my chiefe abode," and his placement of "me" in the last clause of that sentence with Golding's. Golding's diction is remarkably elevated here (the passage is exceptional in comparison with the rest of Book I), but "sweete ditties true" inappropriately lowers the style. While Sandys misses many of the Ovidian repetitions ("nescis," "per me," and "prosunt") which Golding catches, he, nevertheless, does retain the crucial repetition ("certa" "certior") where Apollo switches from boasting to complaint, a repetition which Golding neglects. Syntactical distortion occurs in the final lines of both translations and both are, therefore, weakened. Sandys's version even with the lapse in "instructive rayes" is superior. The dramatic "Ay me" accomplishes the transition in tone more effectively than Golding's more formal "Nowe wo is me" Ovid attains suspension in the last

line of Apollo's speech by withholding the subject, "artes," until the end of the line and sentence. This can hardly be accomplished in English because of the syntactical structure of our language, but Sandys imitates Ovid's emphasis with a closed heroic couplet which places the greatest emphasis on the irony of the concluding rhyme word. Although obvious flaws appear in both translations, Sandys renders the change in tone (the most important characteristic of the passage) more accurately than Golding. His translation captures both the heroic boasting of the god Apollo and the laments of the elegiac lover.

These comparisons with Golding offer some reasons as to why Sandys chose to publish another translation of the Metamorphoses. Golding's elaborations along with his insensitivity to Ovid's sophisticated style (he seems to be writing a popular translation for the middle-class reading public whereas Sandys's faithfulness suggests a more scholarly intent) would tend to create a demand for a more accurate translation which would present Ovid's matter in an Ovidian style.

Why did Sandys choose the heroic couplet instead of fourteeners as the English verse form for Ovid's hexameters? Three previous translations of epics had been in fourteeners, Phaer's Eneidos (1558 and 1584), Golding's Metamorphoses (1565), and Chapman's Iliad (1611), but as early as 1589 Puttenham had criticized the fourteener for its length: "Some makers write in verses of foureteene sillables, giving the Cesure at the first eight; which proportion is tedious, for the length of the verse kepeth the eare too long from his delight, which is to heare the cadence or the tuneable accent in the ende of the verse."⁴⁶ Chapman was also aware of this criticism for in a defense of his translation, published as a prefatory section addressed "To the Understander" in his

Achilles Sheild, he reassures the reader: "Let the length of the verse never discourage your endeavors"47 Later, in his first complete edition of the Iliad, he assumes the offensive, asserting that

The long verse hath by prooffe receiv'd applause
Beyond each other number, and the foile
That squint-ey'd Envie takes is censur'd plaine:
For the long Poeme asks this length of verse,
Which I myself ingenuously maintaine
Too long our shorter Authors to rehearse.48

In spite of this spirited defense, Chapman, when he came to translate the Odyssey, rejected fourteeners and took up the heroic couplet. Perhaps he had heard the opinion of a greater poet: his friend and contemporary, Ben Jonson, told William Drummond of Hawthornden, "That the translations of Homer and Virgill in long Alexandrines were but prose."49 Jonson was a major influence on poets of the seventeenth century, and perhaps he also influenced Sandys's decision.

Another influence would be the conventional form which was established for translating Ovid. Most of the Ovidian translators in Sandys's age used the heroic couplet. Eric Jacobsen in his study of Marlowe's translation of Ovid's Amores comments on this:

Marlowe was the first, therefore, to use heroic couplets in an extended and consecutive Ovidian translation, and his boldness appears to have established the couplet as the metre for subsequent versions, and for free imitations like Drayton's Englands Heroicall Epistles (1597), Heywood's Ars (c. 1600), Beaumont's (?) Salmacis (1602), Overbury's Remedy (1620), Sandys's Metamorphosis (1621? /26), and the diligent Saltonstall's renderings from the 1630's are among the descendants of Marlowe's line in the couplet; and many of them further show the influence of both his Elegies and Hero in borrowings. In short, if Waller and not Marlowe became the official Malherbe of the English couplet (unofficially, the honour should probably go to Sandys who formed a link between the two), we may attribute it to the difference of their period and personalities.50

Sandys probably read and admired the accomplishments of Marlowe, and his friend Drayton no doubt influenced his decision to use the heroic couplet.

The potential of the heroic couplet as a verse form for translating the Metamorphoses is great. L.P. Wilkinson in Ovid Recalled recommends the couplet. After noting the lightness and speed of Ovid's hexameters he concludes: "In English therefore the effect is probably best rendered by retaining the couplet but allowing free enjambement, following the tradition of Chaucer rather than Dryden."⁵¹ The rapidity of Ovid's style could be attained through the use of the enjambed romance couplet as it had been used by Drayton in Endymion and Phoebe (1595) and Marlowe in Hero and Leander (1598).⁵² The wit, sophistication, and rhetorical quality of Ovid's style could be reflected by reversion to a closed heroic couplet at appropriate points in the narrative. The potential of the heroic couplet to reflect these qualities had been suggested in Marlowe's translation of the Amores (1590) and Drayton's England's Heroical Epistles (1597) (even though these translations are of elegiac distichs rather than hexameters, they still suggest a means of attaining in English the wit and rhetoric of the Metamorphoses). Sandys did not, of course, realize the potential of the heroic couplet, but the heroic couplet remains one of the best English verse forms to convey the qualities of the Ovidian hexameter.

Sandys's attempts at translating the Metamorphoses into heroic couplets invite a comparison with Dryden's efforts. The concluding passage of the Baucis and Philemon tale provides a good example of the skills of Sandys and Dryden. Here is Ovid:

cum Baucide pauca locutus	705
iudicium superis aperit commune Philemon:	
'esse sacerdotes delubraque vestra tueri	
poscimus, et quoniam concordēs egimus annos,	
auferat hora duos eadem, nec coniugis umquam	
busta meae videam, neu sim tumulandus ab illa.'	710
vota fides sequitur: templi tutela fuere,	

donec vita data est; annis aevoque soluti
ante gradus sacros cum starent forte locique
narrarent casus; frondere Philemona Baucis
Baucida conspexit senior frondere Philemon. 715
iamque super geminos crescente cacumine vultus
mutua, dum licuit, reddebant dicta 'vale' que
'o coniunx' dixere simul, simul abdita textit
ora frutex: ostendit adhuc Thyneius illic
incola de gemino vicinos corpore truncos. 720
haec mihi non vani (neque erat, cur fallere vellent)
narravere senes; equidem pendentia vidi
serta super ramos ponensque recentia dixi
'cura deum di sunt, et, qui coluere, colantur.'⁵³

Sandys:

They talke a while alone;
Then thus to Jove their common wish make knowne.
We crave to be your Priests, this Fane to guard.
And since in all our lives we never jarr'd;
Let one houre both dissolve: nor let me be
Intomb'd by her, nor she intomb'd by me.
Their sute is sign'd. The Temple they possesse,
As long as life. With time and age opprest;
As now they stood before the sacred gate,
And call to memory that places fate;
Philemon saw old Baucis freshly sprout:
And Baucis saw Philemon leaves thrust out.
Now on their heads aspiring branches grew.
While they could speake, they spake: at once, adieu
They jointly said: at once the creeping rine
Their trunks inclos'd; at once their shapes resigne.
They of Tyana to this present show
These neighbour trees, that from two bodies grow.
Old men, nor like to lye, nor vaine of tongue,
This told. I saw their boughs with garlands hung:
And hanging fresher, said; Who Gods before
Receiv'd, be such: adorers, we adore.⁵⁴

Dryden translates:

A while they whisper; then to Jove address'd,
Philemon thus prefers their joint Request.
We crave to serve before your sacred Shrine
And offer at your Altars Rites Divine: 170
And since not any Action of our Life
Has been polluted with Domestick Strife,
We beg one Hour of Death; that neither she
With Widows Tears may live to bury me,
Nor weeping I, with wither'd Arms may bear 175
My breathless Baucis to the Sepulcher.
The Godheads sign their Suit. They run their Race
In the same Tenor all th' appointed Space:

Then, when their Hour was come, while they relate
 These past Adventures at the Temple-gate, 180
 Old Baucis is by old Philemon seen
 Sprouting with sudden Leaves of spritely Green:
 Old Baucis look'd where old Philemon stood,
 And saw his lengthen'd Arms a sprouting Wood:
 New Roots their fasten'd Feet begin to bind, 185
 Their Bodies stiffen in a rising Rind:
 Then e'er the Bark above their Shoulders grew,
 They give and take at once their last Adieu:
 At once, Farewell, O faithful Spouse, they said;
 At once th' incroaching Rinds their closing Lips invade.
 Ev'n yet, an ancient Tyanaean shows 191
 A spreading Oak, that near a Linden grows;
 The Neighbourhood confirm the Prodigie,
 Grave Men, not vain of Tongue, or like to lie.
 I saw my self the Garlands on their Boughs, 195
 And Tablets hung for Gifts of granted Vows;
 And off'ring fresher up, with pious Pray'r,
 The Good, said I, are God's peculiar Care,
 And such as honour Heav'n, shall heav'nly Honour share. 55

One of the most obvious features in comparing the three passages is Sandys's use of twenty-one and a half lines to translate Ovid's nineteen and a half, whereas Dryden takes thirty-three. Sandys's compression has its effect on the content.⁵⁶ He constantly pares his style. For example in line 5 where he trims "Both of us" down to "both" or lines 19 and 21 where he cuts out "there" and "to me." Short replacements are also made as in the first two lines where he replaces two proper names and a pronoun with "they." Other changes involve a more serious distortion of the content. Sandys gives Ovid's antithesis in lines 709 and 710 more balance by retaining the same verb and inverting the subject and object. The change creates a good closed heroic couplet in English, but some of the Latin content is lost. The loss of the content is even greater when Sandys elects to leave out the last words of the pious couple, "o coniunx" (l. 718). Sandys's compression has its worst effects in the final line, which is so condensed as to be almost unintelligible.

A possible reason for Sandys's compression can be found in the

contemporary theories of literal translation with which Sandys has been associated. The earliest reference associating Sandys with a school of translators occurs in Samuel Johnson's Idler essay on translation.⁵⁷

Johnson states, in amazement, that literal translation was used with classical poets, and continues:

This absurd labour of construing into rhyme was countenanced by Johnson in his version of Horace; and whether it be that more men have learning than genius, or that the endeavours of that time were more directed towards knowledge than delight, the accuracy of Johnson found more imitators than the elegance of Fairfax; and May, Sandys, and Holiday confined themselves to the toil of rendering line for line, not indeed with equal felicity, for May and Sandys were poets, and Holiday only a scholar and a critick.⁵⁸

Johnson's reasons for stating that May, Sandys, and Holyday imitated Jonson are not entirely clear. Both May and Holyday can be associated with Jonson through contemporary documents. Jonson wrote a commendatory poem for May's translation of Lucan (1627) in which he signed himself as "Your true freind in Judgement and Choise."⁵⁹ May, in turn, contributed a poem to Jonsonus Virbius in 1637/38.⁶⁰ Holyday wrote a commendatory epode to the 1640 edition of Jonson's translation of Horace's Art of Poetry.⁶¹ More significantly, in his posthumous 1673 edition of Juvenal and Persius, Holyday acknowledges the aid of Selden, Farnabie, Camden, and Ben Jonson in locating and lending him manuscripts when he originally translated Juvenal.⁶² Both May and Holyday can, then, be associated with Jonson; and one of their common interests is translation.

The association of Sandys with these translators is much more tenuous, but there is some relevant circumstantial evidence which links him with them. In many of the verse references to Sandys, his name is associated with May's. Falkland, William Hemminge, and George Daniel,

all contemporaries of Sandys, link the two, as does the author of an anonymous (1693) poem Metellus his Dialogues.⁶³

Before turning to Jonson's translation of the Ars Poetica to obtain a better idea of what translation meant to him, it must be stressed that he assigns to the poet the role which modern translators would regard as theirs:

The third requisite in our Poet, or maker, is Imitation, to bee able to convert the substance, or Riches of an other Poet, to his owne use. To make choise of one excellent man above the rest, and so to follow him, till he grow very Hee: or, so like him, as the Copie may be mistaken for the Principall.⁶⁴

The poet re-creates a great poem of another language in English, while the translator's task is more servile. Jonson distinguishes the greater freedom of a poet from the strict duty of a translator in his translation of Horace's line:

Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
Interpres

He adds an extra line to elaborate on the distinction:

For being a Poet, thou maist feigne, create,
Not care, as thou wouldst faithfully translate
To render word for word⁶⁵

He thinks of himself as writing poetry, not translating, when he writes:

Come my Celia, let us prove,
While wee may, the sports of love⁶⁶

"Jonson's effort was to feel Catullus, and others he cultivated, as contemporary with himself; or rather to achieve an English mode that should express a sense of contemporaneity with them."⁶⁷ This same attempt to achieve an English mode for the poem is the ideal of many modern translators.

In his translation of the Ars Poetica Jonson was not a literal translator, if literal translation is taken to mean a prose line-for-line

rendering of the Latin verse. His decision to use rhymed English verse eliminated that possibility, yet he was still more faithful to his Latin text than many of his contemporaries were to theirs.⁶⁸

Jonson's comments and practice are informative, but they do not offer a clear statement of a literal theory which later translators might have followed. The only well-defined expression of this theory occurs in Thomas Norton's prefatory remarks to the reader, added to the fourth edition (1578) of his translation of Calvin's Institutes. He expresses his concern for accuracy of content. Then he compares the danger of a word-for-word translation (the English would be very hard to understand) with that of a translation taking greater liberty: the latter brought the danger of an error in meaning and this was "perillous" in matters of faith and religion. Weighing these two evils he concludes: "In the ende, I rested upon the determination, to followe the wordes so neere as the phrase of the Englishe tonge would suffer me. Which purpose I so performed, that if the English booke were printed in such paper and letter as the Latine is, it should not excede the Latine in quantity."⁶⁹ Later critics associate standards like these with Holyday and Sandys. Dryden comments on Holyday, one of the literal translators: "If rendering the exact Sense of these Authors, almost line for line, had been our business, Barten Holiday had done it already to our hands: And, by the help of his Learned Notes and Illustrations, not only of Juvenal, and Persius, but what yet is more obscure, his own Verses might be understood."⁷⁰ The two criteria approved by Norton and condemned by Dryden (a close adherence to the Latin content [a literal translation] and an English translation no longer in length than the Latin) are the only criteria clearly attributed to Sandys as a translator by later

critics such as Winstanley, Garth, Dryden, and Johnson.

Sandys did not declare his theory in any of the editions of the Metamorphosis. The only comment of any interest is in the 1632 edition: "To the Translation I have given what perfection my Pen could bestow; by polishing, altering, or restoring, the harsh, improper, or mistaken, with a nicer exactness then perhaps is required in so long a labour."⁷¹ His remarks, while suggesting he followed a literal theory ("nicer exactness"), do not clearly identify him with any theory, but the compression seen in his practice suggests that he was attempting a line-for-line translation of Ovid. This compression or literal translation is a good antidote to Golding's version but at times the cure is more painful to the reader than the disease as in Sandys's final line of the tale of Philemon and Baucis.

Dryden's treatment of the concluding lines makes an informative contrast. He recognizes that the comparatively compressed Latin demands a longer passage in English to express a similar sentiment. At this point Dryden's additional length is well justified, but many other elaborations found in the passage have little or no justification. There is no need here to give an equally detailed account of Dryden's distortions of the Latin content. It will suffice to note that Dryden is seldom more literal than Sandys. In many places additional words, phrases and lines distort Ovid (even though they are not directly opposed to the Latin) by giving an over-emphasis to certain details of Ovid's verse (consider lines: 173-76, 182 and 184, 192, and 196).

When the styles of the two translations are compared, the most notable feature of Sandys's work is his fairly close adherence to the Latin line-unit. When he does expand (ll. 10-11, 15-16) he quickly

returns again to Ovid's line-units. Adherence to the Latin line-unit makes the formation of any closed heroic couplets incidental. This relative absence of closed heroic couplets (either here or anywhere else in the translation) coupled with Sandys's consistent use of inversion throughout the work creates a narrative movement similar to Ovid's rapidity. Lines 5 and 6 provide an example of an incidental closed heroic couplet:

Let one houre both dissolve: nor let me be
Intomb'd by her, nor she intomb'd by me.

The first half line states the request, and the elaboration of it in the next line and a half joins the two lines into a couplet by weakening the independence of the last line. Sandys, while distorting Ovid's content, emphasizes the rhetorical antithesis with the balanced inversions.

In Dryden's verse the demands of the closed heroic couplet predominate, distorting the Latin style and content, but other resources of English poetry are used to accentuate the development of the tale. His emphasis on "Sprouting," attained by making it a trochaic foot at the beginning of line 182 shows Dryden using English meter to reflect the emphasis Ovid gave to "frondere" (l. 714) through its syntactical placement. Elsewhere alexandrines mark the final metamorphosis and the moral which Ovid draws at the conclusion of the tale.

The best example of Dryden's use of stylistic devices to emphasize the development of the tale occurs in the concluding lines. The tale of Philemon and Baucis is related by Lelex to stress their piety, and Dryden draws attention to this in several ways.⁷² The last lines are set apart in a triplet. Within the triplet the alliterative links between the last two words of the first two lines reinforce the link of

rhyme, whereas the third line is set off from the other two by its length (hexameter) and the balance of the imperfect inversion. All these techniques are employed by Dryden to stress the rewards of piety.

Unfortunately, Dryden's style does not always merge so well with the content. Earlier in the tale his adherence to the demands of the closed heroic couplet forces expansion of Philemon's request, and of their metamorphosis. Compare Ovid's two lines with Dryden's four:

nec coniugis umquam
busta meae videam, neu sim tumulandus ab illa.

Here is Dryden:

We beg one Hour of Death; that neither she
With Widows Tears may live to bury me,
Nor weeping I, with wither'd Arms may bear
My breathless Baucis to the Sepulcher.

A similar elaboration occurs in the metamorphosis where Ovid has five lines:

frondere Philemona Baucis,
Baucida conspexit senior frondere Philemon.
iamque super geminos crescente cacumine vultus
mutua, dum lucuit, reddebant dicta 'vale' que
'o coniunx' dixere simul, simul abdita texit
ora frutex

Dryden takes ten lines:

Old Baucis is by old Philemon seen
Sprouting with sudden Leaves of spritely Green:
Old Baucis look'd where old Philemon stood,
And saw his lengthen'd Arms a sprouting Wood:
New roots their fasten'd Feet begin to bind,
Their Bodies stiffen in a rising Rind:
Then e'er the Bark above their Shoulders grew,
They give and take at once their last Adieu:
At once, Farewell, O faithful Spouse, they said;
At once th'incroaching Rinds their closing Lips invade.

In both cases the elaborations lead the reader to sympathize with their plight, an emotional response that works against Ovid's development and conclusion.⁷³ Linked with this is another negative effect of the closed

heroic couplet. It slows down the narrative progression, losing the rapid movement of Ovid's hexameters. These flaws, however, are minor when compared with the accomplishments of Dryden's translation.

Significant among the accomplishments is Dryden's ability to recreate the variety of tones found in the Metamorphoses. Piper, in his comparison of Sandys's and Dryden's translation of Polyphemos' self-description, justly criticizes Sandys for his failure to render the grotesque humor of the lines, a tone which Dryden masterfully reproduces.⁷⁴ Dryden's superiority also stands out in the interior monologues which Ovid frequently gives to his women. Compare Dryden and Sandys on these lines from Myrrha's speech:

nunc, quia iam meus est, non est meus, ipsaque damno
est mihi proximitas, aliena potentior essem?⁷⁵

Here is Sandys:

Now, in that mine, not mine: proximitie
Dis-joynes us; neerer, were we not so nigh.⁷⁶

Dryden takes four lines:

But the Perverseness of my Fate is such,
That he's not mine, because he's mine too much:
Our Kindred-Blood debars a better Tie;
He might be nearer, were he not so nigh.⁷⁷

Dryden's superiority is obvious. A similarly concentrated passage in Ovid occurs in the long speech by Iphis:

quod volo, vult genitor, vult ipsa, socerque futurus.
at non vult natura, potentior omnibus istis,⁷⁸

Sandys again attempts to put all this into two lines:

What me, my father, hers, herselfe, would please,
Displeaseth Nature; stronger then all these.⁷⁹

Dryden simplifies by combining the subjects of the first line:

Our Parents with our own desires agree,

But Nature, stronger than the Gods above,
Refuses her assistance to my love.⁸⁰

Although neither of these excerpts presents the tone of the whole episode, they are points where Sandys fails and Dryden succeeds. Both offer examples of condensed Ovidian wit. Where Dryden either expands or simplifies to maintain the clarity in English, Sandys attempts to retain the Latin content in an equivalent number of English lines with a compression which does not succeed. This practice, which can result in lines so condensed that they are nearly incomprehensible, can ruin the tone of an episode. In other episodes the difference in tone between the two translations is not so great. Both reflect the grotesque horrors Ovid gave to the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs, and the humble piety of Philemon and Baucis. Dryden's translation, then, is the better for he re-creates Ovid's work in clear, intelligible English. Equally important, there are no contradictions between his theory and his practice, contradictions that do exist in Sandys.

Sandys's practice suggests that he followed a literal theory, a theory which has severe restrictions. Within these restrictions his accomplishment is admirable; however, the restrictions work against both a completely accurate literal translation and a good verse translation. The criterion of meaning, that the translation be a literal, line-for-line translation, tends to generally conflict with the criterion of style, that it be in heroic couplets. A strictly literal line-for-line translation is certainly possible, but for Sandys the limitation of one rhyming iambic pentameter line for one unrhymed Latin hexameter removes that possibility. Sandys could also have attempted to re-create Ovid's tone through the use of the formal stylistic characteristics of the heroic couplet if the restrictive demands of a literal line-for-line translation

had been removed. However, when these two criteria are put together, their demands become irreconcilable in many lines and Sandys either sacrifices the original meaning (through either deletion of words and phrases in the Latin, or addition of words and phrases not in it), or the translation ceases to be intelligible English because of too great a compression.

That Dryden intentionally avoided Sandys's errors in translation can be inferred from his critical comments on Holyday's Juvenal in the preface of his own translation of Juvenal. After emphasizing the difference in length between the English pentameter line and the Latin hexameter, he continues:

But Holiday, without considering that he Writ with the disadvantage of Four Syllables less in every Verse, endeavours to make one of his Lines, to comprehend the Sense of one of Juvenal's. According to the falsity of the Proposition, was the Success. He was forc'd to crowd his Verse with ill sounding Monosyllables, of which our Barbarous Language affords him a wild plenty: And by that means he arriv'd at his Pedantick end, which was to make a literal Translation: His Verses have nothing of Verse in them, but only the worst part of it, the Rhyme: And that, into the bargain, is far from good. But which is more Intollerable, by cramming his ill chosen, and worse sounding Monosyllables so close together; the very Sense which he endeavours to explain, is become more obscure, than that of his Author. So that Holiday himself cannot be understood, without as large a Commentary as that which he makes on his Two Authours.⁸¹

Dryden was well aware of the dangers of this practice, yet he could also admire a translation which succeeded in spite of these restraints. Since he must have been aware of these restrictions in Sandys's translation, his observation that Sandys was "the best versifier of the former Age" is indeed complimentary for it comes from an informed critic.⁸²

Dryden saw Sandys with the eyes of a poet. If Sandys is seen through the eyes of a translator (the perspective which I have taken in this chapter), other shortcomings and accomplishments become apparent.

The dominant fault of Sandys's translation is its compression. He often reflects the rhetorical quality of Ovid's style, but in many instances, compression prevents him from doing this. The movement of his verses is slowed down by the compression. Sandys attains the polytonality of the Metamorphoses only to destroy the tone at some points by compressing lines to the point of incomprehensibility. The greatest accomplishment of his translation is its fidelity, fidelity to both the style and the content of Ovid's work. Sandys's style reflects much of the wit and rhetoric found in Ovid. His units of thought and the movement of the lines, when not ruined by his compression as they frequently are, suggest the Ovidian rapidity. He also rendered the content as well as the form of the poem into English. His translation is no Englished Ovid; it is Ovid in English. He made a translation more literally faithful to Ovid, in spite of its compression, than either Golding's or Dryden's. His contemporaries recognized the value of it, and it became the most popular translation of Ovid in the seventeenth century.

NOTES

¹Golding, Ovid's Metamorphoses, xxii.

²Davis, George Sandys, 214.

³Ovid, Metamorphoses, I, l. 127. In determining the Latin text for my examples I have relied on Beatrice Ingall's research in her dissertation, "George Sandys' Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses," 61. She relies on the Loeb edition when collated with editions by Sabinus (1582) and Regius (1601). Since the 1584 edition was the only readily available edition for my research, I have collated all the Ovidian quotations with this edition. This example is taken from Nims' preface to Golding's translation, xxii. Golding, Ovid's Metamorphoses, I, ll. 143-44.

⁴My references to Sandys's translation are, unless otherwise noted, to the modern University of Nebraska Press edition and are cited in the following manner: Sandys, Metamorphosis, 29.

⁵Golding, Ovid's Metamorphoses, XI, ll. 73-75.

⁶Sandys, Metamorphosis, 499.

⁷Ovid, Metamorphoses, XIV, l. 100. Golding, Ovid's Metamorphoses, XIV, ll. 118-19.

⁸This was a rhetorical figure called synonymia used by renaissance poets. See Miss Rubel's Poetic Diction in the English Renaissance.

⁹Golding, Ovid's Metamorphoses, VIII, ll. 9, 25, 53; Ovid, Metamorphoses, VIII, ll. 7, 53.

¹⁰Golding, Ovid's Metamorphoses, IV, ll. 183, 184; Ovid, Metamorphoses, IV, ll. 151-52.

¹¹Nims, Ovid's Metamorphoses, xxxi.

¹²Golding, Ovid's Metamorphoses, I, l. 191; Ovid, Metamorphoses, I, 167.

¹³In calling this metaphor shocking I am following Brooks Otis' discussion of the lines, Otis, Ovid as an Epic Poet, 98-99.

¹⁴Sandys, Metamorphosis, 30;

¹⁵Golding, Ovid's Metamorphoses, I, l. 202.

¹⁶Ibid., XI, ll. 204, 188, 187.

¹⁷Ovid, Metamorphoses, XII, ll. 56-57.

¹⁸Golding, Ovid's Metamorphoses, XII, ll. 59-60.

¹⁹Ibid., XIV, l. 455; IX, l. 382. I am aware that the Romans addressed female deities as "mater," but there is no equivalent to this term in English.

²⁰Ibid., IV, l. 756; X, l. 58.

²¹Ibid., I, ll. 169-70. "Ladie" is a poor choice for "virgo;" "maiden," or better yet "virgin," is a better choice. Some of the examples in this paragraph have been taken from Nims' preface to Golding's translation, xxxi. The passage discussed is I, ll. 149-50 in Ovid.

²²Sandys, Metamorphosis, 273; Ovid, Metamorphoses, VI, l. 288.

²³Sandys, Metamorphosis, 272, 282, 309.

²⁴Ibid., 358, 274, 354; Ovid, Metamorphoses, VIII, l. 161, VI, l. 333, VIII, l. 27.

²⁵Ovid, Metamorphoses, XIV, ll. 315, 316; Sandys, Metamorphosis, 628; Golding, Ovid's Metamorphoses, XIV, ll. 362, 364 and VII, l. 752; Ovid, Metamorphoses, VII, l. 587.

²⁶Golding, Ovid's Metamorphoses, V, l. 454; Ovid, Metamorphoses, V, l. 359.

²⁷Golding, Ovid's Metamorphoses, XIV, ll. 132, 183; Ovid, Metamorphoses, XIV, ll. 111, 156.

²⁸Ibid., XIV, 677. Rueben Brower points this out in Hero & Saint: Shakespeare and the Graeco-Roman Heroic Tradition, 125.

²⁹Nims, Ovid's Metamorphoses, xxxv. There were critical theories which supported Golding's practice. See chapter VIII "Critical Theories, 1557-1590" in Miss Rubel's Poetic Diction in the English Renaissance, 102-18.

³⁰Ibid., xxxiv-xxxv.

³¹Ovid, Metamorphoses, I, l. 147.

³²Nims, Ovid's Metamorphoses, xxvi-xxvii. The examples of Ovid's style given in this paragraph are taken from Nims' discussion of Ovid and Golding.

³³Golding, Ovid's Metamorphoses, I, l. 167.

³⁴Sandys, Metamorphosis, 29.

³⁵Ovid, Metamorphoses, II, l. 56; Golding, Ovid's Metamorphoses, II, ll. 74-75.

³⁶Sandys, Metamorphosis, 81.

- ³⁷Golding, Ovid's Metamorphoses, II, l. 205; Ovid, Metamorphoses, II, l. 155.
- ³⁸Sandys, Metamorphosis, 83.
- ³⁹Ovid, Metamorphoses, XIII, ll. 384-390.
- ⁴⁰Golding, Ovid's Metamorphoses, XIII, ll. 465-472.
- ⁴¹Sandys, Metamorphosis, 583.
- ⁴²My discussion of the tone of this passage is based on Brooks Otis' interpretation of it in Ovid as an Epic Poet, 101-104.
- ⁴³Ovid, Metamorphoses, I, ll. 514-24. Loeb edition reads "sanabilis" for "medicabilis."
- ⁴⁴Golding, Ovid's Metamorphoses, I, ll. 625-38.
- ⁴⁵Sandys, Metamorphosis, 39-40.
- ⁴⁶Puttenham, Arte of English Poesie, in Smith, Elizabethan Critical Essays, II, 76.
- ⁴⁷Chapman, Achilles Sheild in Smith, Elizabethan Critical Essays, II, 306.
- ⁴⁸Chapman, Chapman's Homer, I, 10.
- ⁴⁹Jonson, Conversations, 4. The editor of the Conversations, R. F. Patterson, states that Jonson's long alexandrines refer to the fourteeners of Chapman and Phaer. A modern critic of Chapman's Homer, George deF. Lord, comes to similar conclusions in Homeric Renaissance. He finds that the fourteeners have "lost rhetorical control" and this results in a "rambling, prosy quality," Homeric Renaissance, 170, 171.
- ⁵⁰Jacobsen, Translation, 158-59.
- ⁵¹Wilkinson, Ovid Recalled, 150.
- ⁵²The terms such as "enjambéd romance couplet" and "closed heroic couplet" are drawn from William Bowman Piper's excellent study, The Heroic Couplet.
- ⁵³Ovid, Metamorphoses, VIII, ll. 705-24.

⁵⁴Sandys, Metamorphosis, 373.

⁵⁵Dryden, Poems, IV, 1569-70.

⁵⁶Tillotson in On the Poetry of Pope, page 67, states that Sandys gains compression by "(a) by latinizing his syntax (though he does not offend by excess), (b) by imitating the Latin use of present and past participles as adjectives, (c) by using verbs derived from Latin instead of composite English verbs." If by "latinizing his syntax" Tillotson is referring to inversion, Sandys does this in the passage which I have quoted, but it does not allow any compression. Point (b) is really a part of the first point. Sandys's use of "oppress," "aspiring," "creeping," and "hanging" are examples of this. I could not find any examples of point (c) in the passage.

⁵⁷Spingarn's reference in his preface to Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century (lvii) led me to this essay. I have not been able to find an earlier reference to these translators as a group. There may well be one, but the difficulty lies in the fact that it is probably in the prefatory pages to some translation. These pages can appear in any edition of the translation and disappear again in later editions; for example Holyday's prefatory remarks appear posthumously in the 1673 edition of his translation of Juvenal and Persius. The problem is further complicated by the inaccessibility of these works. Frequently neither the first edition nor any later one is on microfilm.

⁵⁸Johnson, Works, II, 215-16.

⁵⁹Jonson, Works, VIII, 395.

⁶⁰Ibid., XI, 443.

⁶¹Ibid., VIII, 299.

⁶²Holyday, trans., Decimus Junius Juvenalis . . ., A₂v.

⁶³Weber, Lucius Cary, 284; Hemminge, William Hemminge's Elegy on Randolph's Finger, 13; Daniel, Selected Poems, 13; Amos, Early Theories of Translation, 153.

⁶⁴Jonson, Works, VIII, 638.

⁶⁵Ibid., 312-13.

⁶⁶Ibid., 102.

⁶⁷Leavis, Revaluation, 19.

⁶⁸To determine how literal Jonson's translation actually was, I compared it with a literal prose translation by E. C. Wickham. Where any variance occurred I consulted Jonson's Latin text on the facing page of the Herford and Simpson edition of Jonson's translation. I found no major exclusions and very few significant additions. Jonson often added a word or phrase to fulfill the demands of the English verse. The only place I have found where a whole line is added occurs when Horace warns against literal translation. Line 207 in Jonson's translation is another notable instance; most of the line is not in the Latin text.

⁶⁹Norton, trans., Institutes, *₂v.

⁷⁰Dryden, Poems, II, 668.

⁷¹Sandys, Metamorphosis, 9. When he turned to his religious translations his theory became a little clearer. He identified his works as paraphrases. This term designated a comparatively free translation of the Psalms, George Wither, for example, refers in 1632 to earlier "Paraphrases of the Psalms" (Wither, Psalms of David, 12). In his dedicatory verses to King Charles in the 1636 paraphrase, Sandys comments on the translation:

And since no narrow verse such mysteries,
Deep sense, and high expression could comprise,
Her labouring wings a larger compass fly,
And poesy resolves with poesy;
Lest she, who in the orient clearly rose,
Should in your western world obscurely close.

(Sandys, Works, I, 81)

In the 1640 translation of Christ's Passion, Sandys made a more assertive statement of his new theory. He declared in the prose dedication to King Charles: "Sir, in this change of language I am no punctual interpreter: a way as servile as ungraceful. There is a fault, which painters call, too much to the life. Quintillian censures one, that he more affected similitude than beauty, who would have shown greater skill if less of resemblance: the same in poetry is condemned by Horace, of that art the great lawgiver." (Sandys, Works, II, 409-10). Although the exact degree of freedom in translating is not stated here, this marks a definite change from the literal theory attributed to Sandys in his translation of Ovid.

⁷²Otis, Ovid as an Epic Poet, 171, 201-05.

⁷³Dryden's over-emphasis on the metamorphosis of Baucis and Philemon, for example, evokes the reader's sympathy for them, whereas Ovid's interest lies elsewhere. "The main value of the final metamorphosis of the aged couple (into trees) is that it establishes the tree shrine on which Lelex finally pins his offering and pronounces his moral epigram." (Otis, Ovid as an Epic Poet, 205).

⁷⁴Piper, Heroic Couplet, 73-75.

⁷⁵Ovid, Metamorphoses, X, ll. 339-40.

⁷⁶Sandys, Metamorphosis, 463.

⁷⁷Dryden, Poems, IV, 1575, ll. 70-73.

⁷⁸Ovid, Metamorphoses, IX, ll. 757-58. Loeb edition reads "quod-que ege" for "quod volo."

⁷⁹Sandys, Metamorphosis, 421.

⁸⁰Dryden, Poems, 831, II, 136-38.

⁸¹Dryden, Poems, II, 669.

⁸²Dryden, Essays, II, 247.

CHAPTER IV

THE EMBLEMATIC TRADITION:

BACKGROUNDS TO SANDYS'S OVID

Part of the popularity of Sandys's Ovid must be attributed to the deluxe folio editions of 1632 and 1640 for these editions contained both the commentaries and the illustrations. The emblematic title page, a recent vogue in England, and the engravings which illustrated each book doubtlessly impressed many readers. Sandys, indeed, called the readers' attention to them in the prefatory remarks for he was justifiably proud of their artistic merit.

The emblematic background which illuminates Sandys's use of illustrations and emblem literature includes not only the distinct tradition of emblem literature, but also the related field of book illustrations, and, more generally, the popularity in Jacobean England of works of art depicting classical myth. A survey of the influence of Egyptian hieroglyphics on the Renaissance forms a rewarding starting point for the study of the emblematic background of Sandys's Ovid since important reasons are found here which go far to explain the significance of the visual image in the Renaissance.

Even before the publication of Horapollon's Hieroglyphica (1505) Renaissance scholars following in the footsteps of their classical ancestors were fascinated by Egyptian hieroglyphics.¹ These strange figures were taken to be symbols which concealed the sacred mysteries

of Egyptian religion. A passage from Plotinus shows the special significance given to these figures:

It must not be thought that in the Intelligible World the gods and the blessed see propositions; everything expressed there is a beautiful image, such as one imagines to be in the soul of a wise man, images not drawn, but real. And therefore the Ancients said that real being is ideas and substances.

It seems to me that the Egyptian sages, either working by right reasoning or spontaneously, when they desired to represent things through wisdom, did not use letters descriptive of words and sentences, imitating the sounds and pronunciations of propositions, but drew pictures, and carved one picture for each thing in their temples, thus making manifest the description of that thing. Thus each picture was a kind of understanding and wisdom and substance and given all at once, and not discursive reasoning and deliberation.²

Marsilio Ficino's gloss on his translation of this passage in Plotinus shows that this interpretation was also accepted by Renaissance Neo-Platonists:

The Egyptian priests, when they wished to signify divine things, did not use letters, but whole figures of plants, trees, and animals; for God doubtless has a knowledge of things which is not complex discursive thought about its subject, but is, as it were, the simple and steadfast form of it. Your thought of time, for instance, is manifold and mobile, maintaining that time is speedy and by a sort of revolution joins the beginning to the end. It teaches prudence, produces much, and destroys it again. The Egyptians comprehend this whole discourse in one stable image, painting a winged serpent, holding its tail in its mouth. Other things are represented in similar images, as Horus describes.³

The work by "Horus" to which Ficino refers is a manuscript of the Hieroglyphica by Horapollon Niliacus, "an obscure Alexandrian of the second or fourth century A.D., who claimed in this work to set forth the hidden meaning of the sacred symbols used in ancient Egypt."⁴

This work, which Aldus published for the first time in 1505, had a great popularity with Renaissance mythographers: "Within the next hundred years there had appeared no less than thirty editions, translations, and reprints of this work, to say nothing of the elaborations and commentaries, such as that of Valeriano, which appeared in 1556."⁵

For the purposes of the present survey Valeriano's elaboration

of Horapollo is most significant, for it is one of the sources which Sandys acknowledges at the end of Book I of the Metamorphosis. Pierius, as Sandys calls Valeriano, published the Hieroglyphica, sive de sacris Aegyptiorum literis commentarii in Basel (1556). The book went through eight editions by 1678 and was much larger than Horapollo's:

Valeriano did not limit himself to Horapollo, but, as he explained on his very title-page, his volume would contain both an explanation of the Egyptian and other pagan mysteries, and also evidence that Christ Himself and the Apostles and Prophets used hieroglyphic mode of expression; that Pythagoras, Plato, "and other very great men" were in debt to the Egyptians, "since to speak in hieroglyphs is nothing else than to lay open the nature of divine and human affairs."⁶

Valeriano's approach has Neo-Platonic characteristics in that he assumes that all ancient myths had allegorical meanings and that the differences between various religions could be reconciled once these were correctly read. The book thus becomes a compilation of Egyptian, classical and Christian sources on the significance of animals and various other symbolic images. This hieroglyphical dictionary is one of the reasons that Sandys, in describing the "Philosophicall sense" of Ovid's fables in his 1632 preface to the reader, comments that perhaps even before letters the ancients "expressed their Conceptions in Hieroglyphickes."⁷

Most modern scholars agree that there was a link between the popularity of hieroglyphics and the creation and great popularity of emblem books. For instance, Jean Seznec and Mario Praz trace the origin of emblems to the Italian Neo-Platonists' desire to find a modern equivalent to the Egyptians' hieroglyphics (Don Cameron Allen also mentions Mercati, who viewed Alciati's emblems as a revival in his own day of Egyptian symbolism).⁸

The history of emblem books begins with Andrea Alciati's publication of Emblematum Liber in Augsburg (1531). The emblems (a motto,

a woodcut illustration and an interpretative poem) cover a diversity of topics. Many of them treat mythological subjects and some of these are from Ovid. An emblem apiece explicates the significance of Alcyon, Ganymede, Icarus, Phaeton, Progne and Chiron as well as some of the better known deities such as Mercury, Cupid, Neptune, Hercules, Bacchus and Pan. Each of these characters symbolizes a vice or virtue or is interpreted to reveal a moral truth. Some of these emblems would provide Sandys with material for his commentaries.

Mario Praz's statement that the book went through more than one hundred and fifty editions indicates the immense popularity of Alciati's work.⁹ Various editions expanded the original collection and refined the plates. As the popularity of emblem books spread on the Continent, other emblematisers followed Alciati with their own collections. (In Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery Mario Praz has examined the popularity of the emblem books and its relation to the taste of the age in which they flourished.) The later popularity of emblems in England reflects the Continental vogue.¹⁰ Spenser's The Sheperdes Calender (1579) was the first English book to use emblems extensively, and Geoffrey Whitney's A Choice of Emblemes and other Devises (1586) was the first English emblem book. Very few other emblem books were published until the reign of James I. Then, between 1610 and 1640 (dates which include the period when Sandys translated and illustrated his text), eleven different English emblem books were published. Shortly after Sandys published his illustrated Metamorphosis, Francis Quarles published his Emblemes (1635), the most popular English emblem book. In 1638 Quarles published a second emblem book significantly entitled Hieroglyphics of the Life of Man, and in the following year the two books were combined

to be reprinted eight times before 1700. Their popularity was certainly due in part to their religious subject matter but it also testifies to the prevailing English interest in emblem literature to which Sandys was also appealing with his illustrations.

The popularity of engraved title pages is closely allied with the success of emblem books. George Wither indicates his awareness of their affinity in "A Proposition to This Frontispiece," the poem accompanying his engraved title page:

This Booke contayning Emblems, 'twas thought fit,
A Title-page should stand to usher it,
Thats Emblematicall¹¹

Unfortunately for Wither his engraver failed to follow his instructions, and, by Wither's own admission, the person who could interpret the frontispiece should be styled another Oedipus. Early Stuart authors like Wither preferred elaborate title pages peopled with allegorical figures which symbolically expressed the contents of the book, while later authors, when the use was less fashionable, chose more realistic scenes with less cluttered designs. Within England the vogue of emblematic title pages occurred almost entirely in the seventeenth century. The use of them became very popular in the reigns of James I and Charles I, but by the 1690s its popularity was declining.¹²

These frontispieces shared many common characteristics with the formal emblem. The author frequently attempted a visual representation of the significance or content of his book, a practice which gave the frontispiece the same function as the illustration in an emblem. The general design of early Jacobean title pages ranged from a simple classical structure, a set of columns with an arch, to a straight series of compartments depicting the major events or sections of the book. Many

variations between these extremes occur, involving the use of more elaborate architectural structures and cartouche insets depicting scenes, either allegorical or narrative, which are central to the book. Coryates Crudities (1611) and Richard Brathwaite's The English Gentlewoman (1631) and The English Gentleman and Gentlewoman (1641) are all good examples of the use of compartments.¹³ Within the general design the figures represented range from portraits of the author and often of his translator (Harington in Orlando Furioso also includes his favorite dog, Bungy) to allegorical personages.¹⁴ Biblical figures and insets presenting scenes from the Bible appear in works dealing with Christianity; in works on classical subjects, deities and insets depicting famous myths frequently occur, while scenes and people from distant countries grace the travel books. Allegorical figures range from the various virtues to such abstractions as Geometria and Geographia. Most of these figures are identified on the page either by name or from the mottos. If they are not identified, the mythological handbooks, which painters and illustrators relied on extensively, identify their significance.

The elaborate frontispiece to Raleigh's History of the World (1614) exemplifies the emblematic and allegorical style of early Jacobean title pages. Raleigh based the unified design upon Cicero's description of History as "testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis."¹⁵ The allegorical figures which are identified on the page exemplify the various aspects of History. In the center stands History, a female figure holding the world above her with "magistra vitae" inscribed on her robes. She stands with one foot upon a skeleton labelled "mors," and the other foot upon a slouched figure identified as Oblivion. Behind History is a classically styled building supported by two pillars

which are seen on either side of her. Two more figures, Experience and Truth, stand between the two sets of pillars. Aged Experience holds a long measuring rod and a sounding line, and naked Truth holds a sun with burning rays in her right hand. The pillars on either side of Experience are labelled "Testis Temporum" and "Nuncia Vetustatis." The former pillar has books engraved on it and the latter has the symbols of ancient writing. The pillars on either side of Truth are inscribed as "Lux Veritatis" and "Vita Memoriae," but the designs on them are merely ornamental. On the roof of the building, to either side of the globe, stand Good Fame surrounded by rays of sunlight and Bad Fame surrounded by dark clouds, each blowing her trumpet. Bad Fame is completely covered with dark spots, and Good Fame's wings are covered with eyes, ears, and tongues. Above the globe, at the top center, is an eye in a cloud which, as the reader is told, symbolizes Providence.

Raleigh's frontispiece has another similarity with emblems in that an interpretive poem accompanies the engraving. Ben Jonson wrote this piece for the History, and he might well have helped Raleigh in preparing the design. The poem, like the verses in an emblem, explains the significance of the picture:

The mind of the Frontispice to a Booke

From Death, and darke oblivion, neere the same,
 The Mistresse of Mans life, grave Historie,
 Raising the World to good or evill fame,
 Doth vindicate it to eternitie.
 Wise Providence would so; that nor the good
 Might be defrauded, nor the great secur'd,
 But both might know their wayes were understood,
 When Vice alike in time with vertue dur'd.
 Which makes that (lighted by the beamie hand
 Of Truth that searcheth the most hidden Springs,
 And guided by Experience, whose strait wand
 Doth mete, whose lyne doth sound the depth of things:)
 Shee chearfully supporteth what she reares,

Assisted by no strengths, but are her owne,
 Some note of which each varied Pillar beares,
 By which as proper titles, she is knowne
 Times witnesse, herald of Antiquitie,
 The light of Truth, and life of Memorie.¹⁶

Accompanying poems of this sort, usually entitled "The Mind of the Frontispiece," often appeared with emblematic title pages. Jonson wrote a similar poem for Coryates Crudities, and Crashaw wrote one for Isaacson's Chronology. Drayton's Poly-Olbion, Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy and Quarles' Emblemes also have accompanying poems written by the authors. Thus Sandys's inclusion of an elaborately engraved frontispiece and interpretive poem places him within this convention of his age.

In addition to their influence on title pages, emblems also influenced other arts. Henry Peacham had a strong interest in emblems and the fine arts, and in the 1625 edition of The Compleat Gentleman he comments on the popularity of emblems: "Emblemes and Impresaes if ingeniously conceited, are of daintie device and much esteeme. The Invention of the Italian herein is very singular, neither doe our English wits come much behind them; but rather equall them every way."¹⁷ Between 1603 and 1610 Peacham also presented a collection of emblems illustrating King James's Basilikon Doron to the King and Prince Henry. Minerva Britannia (1612), his only published emblem book, includes such mythological emblems as Diana and Actaeon, Adonis, Hercules, and Ganymede. Some of these emblems are taken from Basilikon Doron and, more importantly, from Caesar Ripa's Iconologia, another popular dictionary of mythological symbols prepared for painters and sculptors. Peacham's work served a use similar to Ripa's for English decorators. Emblems from Minerva Britannia were the sources for the figures on the gallery ceiling at Blickling Hall in Norfolk and for the plaster panels in a Houndsditch house.¹⁸ They were also painted on the

walls of a room in Hardwick House.

Other evidence of the popularity of emblems can be found in the literature of the Elizabethan age such as Spenser's The Faerie Queene and Shakespeare's plays (see, for example, Occasion in The Faerie Queene, II, iii, and the imprese in Pericles, II, ii, 18-44).¹⁹ Emblems are also found embroidered on Elizabethan clothing and tapestries, and on tournament regalia.

Samuel Daniel felt that the interest in the imprese used for tournaments was great enough to justify his translating and publishing (1585) Giovio's tract on the subject. By 1601 one gallery in Whitehall displayed "Certayn devises and impresas."²⁰ Shakespeare and Richard Burbage collaborated in 1613 to design an impresa for Francis Manners, 6th Earl of Rutland.²¹

Close ties exist as well among mythography, the interest in visual representation, and Stuart masques where, as Daniel observed, frequently "... the pomp and splendour of the sight takes up all the intention without regard what is spoken" ²² (Allardyce Nicoll in Stuart Masques and the Renaissance Stage devotes an entire chapter to the influence of the mythographers on the masque.²³) The mythographers influenced both the costumes and the settings of the masques. The Iconologia of Ripa was one of the major source books, and another possibility was Cartari's Le imagini colla sposizione degli dei degli antichi (The Images of the Gods), a work which Inigo Jones had in his library.²⁴ Richard Linche's 1599 translation of Cartari's work entitled The Fountaine of Ancient Fiction was also available. Characters in the masques frequently had emblematic significance, as in Daniel's The Vision of Twelve Goddesses (1604) where each deity was a "hieroglyphic" of a specific virtue, or in

D'Avenant's Britannia Triumphans (1638) where one woman's costume was based on Ripa's description of Vittoria Navale.²⁵ The setting as well as the characters carried emblematic significance as in James Shirley's The Triumph of Peace (1634) where the following description of one part of the backdrop was probably written by Inigo Jones:

In one of the lesser compartments was figured a sharp-sighted eye, and in the other a golden yoke; in the midst was a more great and rich compartment on the sides of which sat naked children in their natural colours, with silver wings, in action of sounding golden trumpets, and in this was figured a Caduceus with an olive-branch; all which are hieroglyphics of Peace, Justice and Law.²⁶

And the descriptions of the statues in Townshend's Tempe Restored (1632) are almost literal translations of Ripa.²⁷

A more specific look at Ben Jonson's use of these hieroglyphics will be useful since he was a major writer of masques. In his plays and masques he frequently uses the term "hieroglyphic," and the texts of his masques offer the best evidence of what the term meant to him.²⁸ In the Kings Entertainment (1604) Jonson gives a detailed description of a triumphal arch constructed at Fenchurch for King James's coronation procession. Having finished the description he notes ". . . that the Symboles used, are not, neither ought to be, simply Hieroglyphickes, Emblemes, or Impreses, but a mixed character, partaking somewhat of all, and peculiarly apted to these more magnificent Inventions: wherein, the garments and ensignes deliver the nature of the person, and the word the present office."²⁹

The comment was probably included to praise the arch, but the distinctions drawn by Jonson are illuminating. The first phrases make it clear that "hieroglyph," "emblem" and "impresa" are all encompassed by the generic term "symbol." The figures or symbols on the arch cannot be divided into the three kinds of symbol mentioned but are of a "mixed

character." The characteristics which are mixed are set out in the concluding phrases. The garments and ensignes are opposed to the words. Thus Jonson makes his major distinction between the visual image and the written word, the former significantly presenting the nature of the person and the latter the office or duty.

This distinction between the visual and the verbal differentiates the emblem from the hieroglyph in that the emblem has an accompanying verbal interpretation in the motto and verses. The assumption that Jonson regarded the hieroglyph as a type of symbol which communicated entirely through its visual image without any accompanying words is confirmed in a passage from The Masque of Blackness (1608), where he states the characteristics of the hieroglyph in comparing it with the impresa. During the masque the Tritons advance presenting their fans:

". . . in one of which were inscribed their mixt Names, in the other a mute Hieroglyphick, expressing their mixed qualities. Which manner of Symbole I rather chose, then Imprese, as well as for strangenesse, as relishing of antiquitie, and more applying to that originall doctrine of sculpture, which the Aegyptians are said, first, to have brought from the Aethiopians."³⁰

Jonson's description of the hieroglyph establishes it as a symbol which communicates solely through the visual image and associates it with the symbols which "deliver the nature of the person" in the distinction drawn in the Kings Entertainment. This definition of the hieroglyph resembles the Neo-Platonic interpretation of these strange, pseudo-Egyptian symbols. Compare with this the statement by Plotinus which Ficino had endorsed, that the hieroglyph comprehends a whole discourse in one stable image or that ". . . each picture [hieroglyph] was a kind of understanding and wisdom and substance and given all at once, and not discursive reasoning and deliberation."³¹ Jonson's view that the hieroglyph communicates the nature of the person implies the concept of immediate

revelation through visual symbols. His acceptance of this Neo-Platonic view is not surprising since the popularity of hieroglyphs and emblems has been attributed to the Renaissance Neo-Platonists' interest in them.³²

The sources for Jonson's knowledge of hieroglyphs and other symbolic attributes are many. He acknowledges both Ripa and "Orus Apollo in his Hierglyp." in The Masque of Queens, and he had in his library a copy of the 1623 edition of Symbolica Aegyptiorum sapientia, which contained Horapollon's work.³³ For more general information on the classical gods and personifications he relied on the mythographers Giraldi, Comes, and possibly Cartari.³⁴

Jonson was following the practice of many Continental painters in using these mythographical works as a source for the symbolic attributes of various personifications and of the classical deities. Many sixteenth-century painters, such as Pinturicchio, Leonardo, Mantegna, Giovanni Bellini, Dürer and Giorgio Vasari, drew motifs from them.³⁵ During the next generation Vincenzo Cartari, whom Seznec describes as an iconographer, published his Images of the Gods (1556), a handbook for painters which an author of a 1584 treatise on painting recommends to artists.³⁶ At the close of the century Cartari's work was superseded by Cesare Ripa's Iconologia (1593). Emile Mâle sums up Ripa's influence when he describes the work as "the key to the painted and sculptured allegories of the seventeenth century."³⁷

These handbooks had probably influenced most of the paintings of mythological subjects which were in existence in England during Sandys's lifetime. Since almost none of these paintings is in Canada I cannot make the detailed study of them necessary to establish the influence of the mythological handbooks upon their composition. I can, however, gather

from the remaining records some information on the various mythological paintings acquired by Englishmen and suggest the court's growing interest in art collection during the Stuart reigns.

A comparatively small number of mythological paintings occur in Elizabethan times. A slight interest in allegorical-mythographical paintings existed early in Elizabeth's reign. Hans Eworth's 1550 portrait of Sir John Luttrell wading naked in a strong sea is one of the few surviving examples of this interest.³⁸ In the upper left-hand corner the allegorical figure of Peace assists Sir John while Venus symbolically curbs the wrath of war by bridling a horse. The figures behind her seem to be Minerva and the Graces, representative of the fruits of peace. In 1569 a painting by the unknown artist H.E. flattered Elizabeth by depicting a new allegorical interpretation of the Judgement of Paris. The Queen, having taken the role of Paris, awards the apple or orb to herself while Juno, Pallas and Venus acknowledge their better (Peele uses the same device of flattery in The Araygnement of Paris). The verses on the frame are:

Juno potens sceptris et mentis acumine Pallas;
Et roseo Veneris fulget in ove decus;
Adfuit Elizabeth, Juno perculsa refugit;
Obstupuit Pallas erubuitque Venus.³⁹

While some vestiges of allegorical painting remained in the emblematic details of later Elizabethan portraits, the general allegorical method became very rare.⁴⁰ For an Elizabethan, a painting usually meant a portrait, for the bulk of Tudor painting consisted of portraiture.⁴¹ The 1588 inventory of Leicester House shows the relative rarity of mythological paintings. Of the eighty-seven pictures listed, sixty-four are portraits. The six mythological paintings are:

One of Cupid and Venus

A Picture of a naked Lady sleeping and Cupid
 menaicing hir with his darte
 A picture of Penelope
 Another Picture of Venus and Cupid
 Diana bathying hirselfe with hir Nymphes
 A picture of Diana and Acteon⁴²

The scarcity of this type of painting is even greater than these items suggest, for the two additional inventories of Leicester's country houses of Kenilworth and Wanstead list no further mythological paintings. The fact, however, that all of Leicester's mythological paintings are in his London residence may be indicative of coming changes of taste to take place early in the next century.

It should not be assumed, however, that, because Elizabethans owned few mythological paintings, they seldom encountered representations of mythological subjects. There are other art forms to consider. Wall painting usually took the form of abstract ornamentation, but some interesting exceptions have survived. Hill Hall had a series of feigned tapestries representing the story of Cupid and Psyche which had been painted on the walls before 1577.⁴³ The grand staircase at Knole had a panel of mythological and allegorical figures in pairs executed around 1605.⁴⁴ And other similar works were completed in the early seventeenth century. Two compartments in a staircase at Hurlcott Manor presented first Jupiter, Leda and the swan, and then Hercules slaying the lion.⁴⁵ Stodmarsh Court had friezes on the walls of two rooms. One depicted Venus, Jupiter, Luna and Mercury in their astrological roles, and the other portrayed the story of Diana and Actaeon.⁴⁶

Other forms were also used for the presentation of the classical deities. The 1590 inventory of Sir John Lumley's goods includes the following items:

A large table of the Rape of Helen drawn by Cleave
 Haunce of Antwarpe

A table of Anchises and Aeneas
 A table of Juno and Jupiter
 A table of Venus and Adonis
 A table of Hercules⁴⁷

Donald King argues that the English Sheldon tapestry works produced hangings of Ovidian subjects near the end of the sixteenth century.⁴⁸ The later (1609) Lumley Inventory lists several tapestries and two paintings which present either medieval or Renaissance interpretations of classical myths:

Imprimis vii peeces of hangines of Arras wth gold
 of the storie of Troy
 Itm vi peeces of hangins of Jason and Medea
 Itm vi peeces of hangins of the storie of the King
 Pluto
 Itm fower peeces of hangins of the storie of the
 Amazons
 Itm 3 peeces of hangins of the storie of Paris
 Itm the storie & pictures of Mars and Venus
 Itm Hercules picture and the picture of Tyme⁴⁹

Although this brief list of tapestries provides only an initial impression it would be too time-consuming to go on to list all the mythological tapestries recorded in W.G. Thomson's extensive inventories of sixteenth and seventeenth-century tapestries in England.⁵⁰ In both ages religious subjects predominate but there are a significant number of mythological weavings.

A survey of the sixteenth century shows that while there were some pieces of art that treated mythological subjects, these were relatively few, especially in painting where portraiture predominated. But in the early seventeenth century a preference within the court circle for Continental artists and classical artifacts brought about a change of taste that included a renewed interest in mythological subjects. Portraiture was still as popular as religious subjects, but the avid collecting of Continental artists by the nobility brought a number of famous mythological works into English hands.

The first great English collector was Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. He had long been interested in paintings, and a major addition to his collection occurred after Sir John Lumley's death, when he inherited a portion of the Lumley collection. The Earl also made several visits to Italy, the most important the 1613 trip when he was accompanied by Inigo Jones. Having excavated some ancient statues during this stay in Italy, he shipped them home and set them up in the garden of Arundel House. His interest and pride in his collection are shown in Daniel Mytens's portrait of the Earl (ca. 1618) sitting in his gallery of sculptures. In 1615, when the Earl of Somerset was disgraced at court, King James seized the Earl's goods including his art collection. The next year James gave the Somerset collection to the Earl of Arundel. Among the pictures which had lined Somerset's bowling alley were paintings of Bacchus, Venus and Cupid, Venus and Ceres, and Venus and Adonis.⁵¹ The collection also included some works purchased for Somerset by Sir Dudley Carleton in Venice early in 1615. An inventory of this shipment has survived and lists some interesting mythological works: two paintings by Tintoretto --a Ceres, Bacchus and Venus and The Labyrinth --as well as a Venus by Titian and A Picture of Apollo are included in this gathering of Venetian paintings.⁵²

Sir Dudley Carleton's role as a purchaser of paintings is not surprising. Arundel, Buckingham and Charles I had diplomats and connoisseurs searching all Europe for masterpieces, and prominent among these agents were Sir Dudley Carleton, Ambassador to Venice and the Hague; Sir Henry Wotton, Ambassador to Venice; Endymion Porter; Nicholas Lanier; Daniel Nys in Italy; and Balthasar Gerbier in the Netherlands and France.⁵³ In 1608 Sir Henry Wotton wrote to the Earl of Salisbury that he was sending some pictures on the ship Martha: "There is also a figure (I take it)

of Prometheus devoured by the eagle, done by Giacobbo Palma in concurrence with Titiano . . . ;" this picture like so many others finally ended in King Charles's royal collection.⁵⁴ Balthasar Gerbier acquired Bassano's History of Vulcan for Buckingham in 1621 (this trip to Rome and Venice is best known for his acquisition of Titian's Ecce Homo), and in a letter dated 1624 he informs Buckingham that he has made a down payment on a "Danae of Tintoret and a Gorgons head."⁵⁵ Carleton must have also developed his own collection, for in 1618 he proposed to Rubens a bargain which involved the trade of Sir Dudley's large collection of classical statuary gathered in Venice for some of Rubens's paintings. Rubens's letters of reply have survived and the stages of the bargaining can be easily traced.⁵⁶ When the bargain was finally completed, Sir Dudley received 2,000 florins and nine paintings. Five of these paintings dealt with Christian subjects and one was a hunt. Rubens gives the following description of the remaining three:

A prometheus bound on Mount Caucasus, with an eagle pecking his liver. Original, by my hand, the eagle done by Snyders.
Leopards, taken from the life, with Satyrs and Nymphs.
A Leda, with the Swan and a Cupid. Original by my hand.⁵⁷

Carleton felt he had made a good bargain, but Rubens was eventually to make the greater gain from the trade.

This final advantage to Rubens grew out of Buckingham's avid desire to develop a great collection. His lavish expenditures enabled him to go far beyond Arundel's collection. Rubens's sale to him in 1625 shows how much he was willing to spend to develop his holdings. After meeting Rubens in that year the Duke had developed a passion for Rubens's collection of paintings and marbles (that is, the statues acquired from Carleton). He began to negotiate for them and eventually paid 100,000 florins for the collection.⁵⁸ Between his initial trade with Carleton

and subsequent resale to Buckingham, Rubens was able to realize a large profit. Buckingham was also satisfied with his acquisition which included at least ninety-seven paintings. I have found only a list of the thirteen paintings done by Rubens, but of this group three treat mythological subjects. A 1758 catalogue describes them:

Another large piece wherein are several gods and
goddesses of the woods and little Bacchi.
Medusa's head.
The 3 Graces with fruit.⁵⁹

During their 1625 meeting Buckingham also sat for an allegorical portrait which Rubens finished in 1627. The picture, which incidentally served as a model for Rubens's later portrayal of the apotheosis of James I, presents the Duke being drawn upward towards a temple by Minerva and Mercury. The gods have their traditional attributes and on the left side, identifiable by their traditional pose, are the Three Graces offering a wreath to the Duke while on the right side Fame heralds his ascension. At either side of the temple doors Honor and Virtue prepare to greet the Duke. Below him Envy, identified by the snakes entwined in her hair, attempts to restrain him.⁶⁰

Felton's tenpenny dagger brought an end to the Duke's collecting but his collection had already been outdone by Charles's holdings. Charles's collection began with some portraits of him as Prince of Wales and a number of paintings inherited from his brother Henry. In 1622 the Venetian ambassador noted Charles's preference for Venetian painting, a preference which he held for the rest of his life. He had the greatest admiration for Titian, who had relied mainly on Ovid for textual inspiration with mythological subjects, and Charles made a major addition to his collection when he brought back Titian's famous Venus del Prado from his farcical 1623 expedition to Spain with Buckingham and Gerbier (he

also acquired Rosso's Contest of the Muses and Pierides on this trip).

Charles must have acquired Jupiter and Antiope, another mythological painting by Titian, sometime during the next five years, for he made a gift of it to Buckingham.⁶²

In 1627 he made another major addition to his collection when he purchased a large number of paintings from the sale of the collection of Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga of Mantua. The acquisition included many mythological paintings: the birth of Hercules, a Cupid, Jupiter and Europa, a Centaur, Jupiter and Pallas, all by Julio Romano; a satyr disrobing a sleeping Venus and satyrs tormenting Marsyas, both by Correggio; Carracci's Diana and her nymphs discovered by Actaeon; Proserpina by Bronzino; and a Jupiter and Calisto, as well as several anonymous paintings of Cupid.⁶³ Tintoretto's Nine Muses and Correggio's Mercury instructing Cupid before Venus were the most famous mythological paintings among his new acquisitions from the Mantua collection.

As a patron Charles supported such painters as Honthorst, Gentileschi, Rubens and Van Dyck. In 1628 he commissioned a painting by Honthorst and by 1630 the work entitled Apollo and Diana was completed. Horace Walpole in Anecdotes of Painting in England introduces the painting as a "very large emblematic piece" and then describes it: "Charles and his Queen, as Apollo and Diana, are sitting in the clouds; the Duke of Buckingham under the figure of Mercury introduces to them the arts and sciences, while several genii drive away Envy and Malice."⁶⁴

Charles received another allegorical mythological painting entitled War and Peace from Rubens when the painter came to England on a diplomatic mission in 1629. This painting, like the Apollo and Diana, is also regarded as emblematic, for a contemporary of Sandys, Abraham Van Der Doort, describes

it as "a Picture . . . of an emblin wherein the differrences and ensuenees betweene peace and warrs is Shewed" ⁶⁵ In this work Minerva protects a peaceful family in the foreground by warding off the threats of war made by Mars. During his mission Rubens also painted in grisaille the design for a ewer and basin: the body of the ewer depicts the Judgment of Paris with Jupiter, Neptune and two goddesses looking on, and on the ground of the basin is the Birth of Venus. ⁶⁶ And Rubens left England in 1630 with a commission for a series of paintings to be placed on the ceiling of the Whitehall Banqueting House. By 1632 he had completed his sketches for the famous apotheosis of James I.

A letter of Rubens to a friend gives his personal opinion of the state of the fine arts in England at the time when Sandys was preparing his illustrated edition:

It is true that I derive some pleasure from these my peregrinations, seeing so many diverse lands and multorum hominum mores et urbes. Certainly in this island I have not found the rudeness which a climate so remote from the delights of Italy might lead one to expect. Nor have I ever seen in one place so many excellent pictures by masters of the first rank as in the collections of the King and of the late Duke of Buckingham. The Earl of Arundel, moreover, has an infinity of Greek and Roman statues ⁶⁷

This appreciation and avid collection of fine art objects continued within the court until the Civil War disrupted England.

Although I have restricted myself to presenting the interest in painting and the acquisition of mythological pictures by the court circle before 1632, many mythological works were acquired during the final years of Charles's reign. During the 1630s Van Dyck was the most famous court painter. He is mainly known for the royal portraits he painted during his stay in England (1632-41), but he also painted many mythological subjects. Only his Cupid and Psyche survived the Civil Wars, Interregnum and later dangers, but a list of his lost paintings includes A Dance of

the Muses on Parnassus, Apollo and Marsyas, some Bacchanals, and Venus and Adonis.⁶⁸ Walpole mentions an additional painting of Daedalus and Icarus.⁶⁹

The 1635 inventory of the Duke of Buckingham's paintings at York House provides an impression of the size and quality of the Duke's collection. Among the 330 paintings (most of them must have been acquired before 1628) the following mythological works are recorded:

Apelles drawing Venus naked Vost van Wingen
Vulcan and Venus A Disciple Basan
Jupiter and Io in Water Coulers Hans Holbin
Venus and Cupid Jupiter and Donea
Pluto and Proserpine Contertine
Venus and two Satyrs Hunthroft
Cupid a copy Manfredi
Mars and Venus Benetto Veroneso
Venus and Adonis liveing Paulo Veroneso
Hercules spinning and Omphaell Domineering Bassan
One of the twelve Sibills Guido Bolmezo
Pan and Seringa a great landskip Jaques Voquier
A Fiction of Divers Women and a Satyr Gentilisco
A great Venus and Cupid Fetty
A little piece of Venus and Cupid Mabuz
The Sack of Troy Hans Evolls
A piece of Pluto in the Cieling Brugell
Diana Sleeping Manny Digg
A picture of Hercules Blockland
Venus and Cupid Rotten Hamor
A little piece of Apollo, Venus, and little Children
 Rotten Hamor
Aurora lying upon the clouds Corovagio
Mars and Venus Corovagio
Andromeda and Perseus Palma
Jupiter and Danae Palma
The Picture of Mars Palma
Venus and Adonis Dead Palma
The Three Graces Sacrificing Rubens and Brugi
Medusa's head with snakes Rubens and Subter
The Picture of Mars Rubens and Subter
Leander and Hero Rubens
Three Graces with a Baskett of Flowers Rubens
A Centaure and Diana Rubens
Drunken Silvanus Rubens
Venus Looking in a Glasse a copy after Titian
Venus Sleeping and Cupid Pissing a copy after Titian
Diana and Calisto Titian
A Picture of Sisiphus Titian
Diana and Actaeon Titian.⁷⁰

Tapestries produced by the Mortlake tapestry works during the reign

of Charles provide more examples of mythological subject matter. A series on Hero and Leander was very popular during this period.⁷¹ Mortlake also produced a set on the history of Diana, and a series on the fable of Psyche was probably theirs.⁷² In 1641 an additional mythological group was planned, for an agent was sent to Holland to purchase the cartoon representing the story of Dido and Aeneas.⁷³ Within the general category of the illustration of classical myths which has been surveyed, there is a type which is especially relevant to Sandys's engravings, the illustration of heroic works. Many of the tapestry series woven at Mortlake after Sandys had illustrated Ovid portrayed heroic tales, and evidence remains of earlier interests in the illustration of heroic stories.

As could be expected, since mythographical painting was not very popular in the sixteenth century, I have found very few examples of the illustration of heroic stories. The Ulysses and Penelope painting dated 1570 is the only true example of this type which I have encountered.⁷⁴ In addition to this an interesting portrait of Queen Elizabeth exists which contains a series of epic illustrations. Here is another example of the allegorical-mythological genre of painting surviving in the emblematic detail of later Elizabethan portraiture. The portrait is one of the Siena Sieve portraits painted around 1580.⁷⁵ In this full-length portrait the Queen stands holding a sieve, the symbol of the Vestal Virgin Tuccia. Our interest lies in the symbolic pillar behind Elizabeth, which is inset with nine medallions depicting the story of Dido and Aeneas in the following sequence:

(i) Aeneas flees from Troy (?). (ii) The ships of the Trojans arrive at Carthage. (iii) Aeneas makes his first encounter with Dido in the Temple of Juno. (iv) Dido and Aeneas strolling together. (v) The banquet given in honour of the Trojans: Dido and Aeneas; Cupid disguised as Julus; the blind harpist, Iopas. (vi) Dido and Aeneas meet for the hunt. (vii) The message of Mercury warning Aeneas to depart on his journey (?). (viii)

Dido throws herself upon a funeral pyre. (ix) The Trojans depart towards awaiting ships . . . The medallions on the pillar allude to the traditional interpretation of the Dido story, her part as an evil temptress enticing Aeneas away from his great imperial destiny, which is specifically alluded to in the diadem of the Holy Roman Empire delineated at the base of the pillar . . . The parallel is a simple one, between Aeneas lured from his heaven-appointed way by the powers of love and Elizabeth, similarly destined for empire, who, because of her virginity, has refused to be deflected from her path.⁷⁶

Elizabeth's portrait and Ulysses and Penelope are the only clear examples of Elizabethan illustration of heroic works in painting.

The search for heroic mythographical pieces becomes more rewarding in other areas. While the 1577 wall paintings of Cupid and Psyche are not heroic, they do involve a series of pictures illustrating one myth. The tables of Aeneas and Anchises and of Hercules, in the 1590 Lumley inventory, and the tapestries such as the seven pieces of the story of Troy in the 1609 inventory have already been mentioned. The series of tapestries which still hangs in Hardwick Hall, showing events from the Odyssey, offers another example. In fact, epic illustration occurs most frequently in tapestries during the Elizabethan period. The majority of tapestry subjects are Christian and historical, but a significant number of the tapestries illustrate classical myths.⁷⁷ The tales of Hercules and Aeneas are by far the most popular heroic subjects (the Hardwick Hall Ulysses tapestry series is the only illustration of Homer's work that I have found). Preferences fairly similar to those of the sixteenth century persisted during the first half of the seventeenth century; during the second half of the century, however, subjects taken from classical mythology were the most popular, and Ovid's Metamorphoses was the most popular source.⁷⁸

The rapid expansion of collections during the first part of the seventeenth century brought with it the acquisition of new paintings which illustrated heroic works. One of the Earl of Arundel's acquisitions from the Somerset collection (1616) was "3 pieces, by Paul Veronese, the Life

of Hercules."⁷⁹ Twelve paintings of the labors of Hercules also hung in the library of the Earl of Northumberland's house at Petworth.⁸⁰ In 1621 Honthorst requested Sir Dudley Carleton to make a trial of his ability by selecting a topic to be painted. Sir Dudley, in a letter to Lord Arundel, relates the "invention" which he selected for Honthorst: "I gave him Aeneas flying from ye sack of Troye, & in a posture pariter cometique onerique; wherein how well he hath acquitted himself yor Lp wilbe best able to judge" ⁸¹ Arundel was pleased, and Honthorst began to attract the attention of the English court. After Honthorst's visit to Charles's court Sir Dudley in 1630 commissioned from the painter a series of eight pieces by several masters. "The designes are taken owt of Homers Odisses . . . ," and it is probably this series that Carleton promises to send from Rotterdam in 1631.⁸²

Charles also had an interest in the illustration of epic or heroic works. In 1627 he sent Endymion Porter, whom he frequently used as an agent in acquiring paintings, on a diplomatic mission with the additional duty of buying pictures. In Antwerp Porter commissioned the first painting by Van Dyck which Charles was to acquire. The subject selected was a scene from Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered depicting Rinaldo and Armida.⁸³ Van Dyck finished the work within a year and Charles promptly paid him seventy-eight pounds for it.⁸⁴ In 1629-30, when a part of Whitehall was redecorated, the artists painted on the chimney piece of Mr. Carey's bed-chamber "the Storeye of Aeneas, carrying Anchises out of Troye."⁸⁵ During this same period Rubens, while on his diplomatic mission in England, designed for Charles the cartoons for eight tapestries on the subject of Achilles.⁸⁶ The King's Mortlake works later wove these tapestries, and they were also engraved on the Continent.⁸⁷ Between 1632 and 1635,

immediately after Sandys published his illustrated edition of the Metamorphosis, Lord Cottington, a member of the Privy Council who had earlier accompanied Prince Charles and Buckingham to Spain, presented Charles with a series of brass bas-relief sculptures "being all severall stories. and parts taken out of Ovid."⁸⁸ The artist Paul van Vianen devoted one sculpture apiece to the Python, Daphne, Io and Achelous; and three pieces to each of the fables of Phaeton, Argus and Calisto.⁸⁹ These sculptures, along with the paintings of heroic works, lead to the conclusion that there was an interest in the illustration of epic during the period when Sandys decided to illustrate his translation.

Various editions of heroic works with woodcuts or engravings also reflect this interest in illustrating the heroic tales.⁹⁰ Although the illustration of most classical epics was uncommon, many editions of Ariosto's heroic Orlando Furioso and Ovid's Metamorphoses appeared in the sixteenth century, and these two established traditions are both relevant to Sandys's illustrations.⁹¹

In the Italian editions of Orlando Furioso the frequent use of illustrations indicates their popularity. Within this tradition Giolito in 1545 first combined several episodes into one picture, and in 1556 Vincenzo Valgrisi expanded Giolito's innovation until one woodcut illustration presented all the major scenes of a book. With this technique the illustrator depicted the different actions on successively receding planes of the perspective. This correlates the recession of the perspective with narrative progression.⁹² Between 1556 and 1580 at least six reprints with Valgrisi's woodcuts were published. There were additional later printings of Valgrisi's illustrations, and in 1584 Francesco Francheschi brought out another edition with engravings by Girolamo Porro

which were copied from Valgrisi's woodcuts.

This edition is particularly interesting since Thomas Coxon copied these illustrations in order to make the engravings for John Harington's 1591 English translation of Ariosto. The English plates are very close copies of Porro's plates with the exception of the plate for Book XXXIV, which was missing in Porro (Coxon copied Valgrisi's plate), and the infamous plate for Book XXVIII.⁹³ Although the illustrations were copied, Harington knew that they were exceptional in comparison to contemporary illustrated English works, and he states this in his prefatory section, "An Advertisement To The Reader:"

As for the pictures, they are all cut in brasse, and most of them by the best workemen in that kinde, that haue bene in this land this manie yeares: yet I will not praise them too much, because I gave direction for their making, and in regard thereof, I may be thought partiall, but this I may truely say, that (for mine owne part) I have not seene anie made in England better, nor (in deede) anie of this kinde, in any booke, except it were in a treatise, set foorth by that profound man, maister Broughton the last yeare, vpon the Revelation, in which there are some 3. or 4. pretie figures (in octavo) cut in brasse verie workemanly. As for other books that I haue seene in this realme, either in Latin or English, with picturs, as Livy, Gesner, Alciats emblemes, a booke de Spectris in Latin, & (in our tong) the Chronicles, the booke of Martyrs, the book of hauking and hunting, and M. Whitney's excellent Emblems, yet all their figures are cut in wood, & none in metall, and in that respect inferior to these, at least (by the old proverbe) the more cost, the more worship.⁹⁴

Sir John was the first Englishman to use engraving in illustrating a work of fiction. By copying Porro and Valgrisi he also introduced the technique of visually communicating the narrative development through the use of perspective. A passage in the "Advertisement" is devoted to the explanation of the technique:

The vse of the picture is euident, which is, that (hauing read ouer the booke) you may reade it (as it were againe) in the very picture, and one thing is to be noted, which euery one (haply) will not obserue, namely the perspective in euery figure. For the personages of men, the shapes of horses, and such like, are made large at the bottome, and lesser vpward, as if you were to behold all the same in a plaine, that which is nearest seemes greatest, and the fardest, shewes smallest, which is the chiefe art in picture.⁹⁵

The simplicity of the explanation suggests that he included the passage in order to call attention to the innovation rather than to offer any significant explanation. E. Gordon Duff offers some justification for Harington's pride in his illustrations when he describes the translation as "the most ambitious book illustrated with metal plates published in the century."⁹⁶ Harington's work was reprinted in 1607 and in 1634; however, no other English author used techniques of illustration similar to his until Sandys had original plates designed for his 1632 edition of Ovid.

Sandys's use of illustrations was probably influenced by Harington's and possibly by the illustrated Continental editions of Orlando Furioso, but it might also have been influenced by one of the illustrated editions of the Metamorphoses which had been published on the Continent. The history of Ovidian illustration in the second half of the sixteenth century centers on the Lyon edition of 1577, La Metamorphose d'Ovide figuree, with woodcuts by Bernard Salomon.⁹⁷ Each page of this edition presents a woodcut and a French verse translation of Ovid, a layout which has parallels with emblem books. This technique tended to break up the sequence of stories and even the episodes themselves into the significant actions depicted on each page. Salomon also presented a detailed setting in his illustrations, but was not so faithful to the details of Ovid's poem. The illustrations, which are narrative, not allegorical, reappeared in many later editions which made various improvements on the originals. An Italian translation published in Lyons in 1599 placed greater emphasis on the actual metamorphoses. A 1583 Frankfort edition illustrated by Virgil Solis expanded the size of the woodcuts to allow more expressive gestures and facial expressions, but a later anonymous illustrator of the 1582 Leipzig edition took the greatest advantage of this new size. Other later reworkings in the Salomon tradition

occurred and some editions appeared which were independent of Salomon.

An important group of these independent editions adopted the format of a single full-page illustration preceding each book.⁹⁸ This technique goes back to a French prose translation La Bible des Poètes (1520) in which the artist selected a single story to illustrate each book. Giacomo Franco illustrated the first edition (Venice, 1584) which presented the major events of the book on successively receding planes of the perspective. Within Italy these plates were copied in woodcuts for a 1592 edition by the same publisher and again in copperplate for an octavo edition in 1607 (Venice, Marc 'Antonio Zaltieri). In France the engraver Léonard Gaultier copied Franco's illustrations for a 1606 edition (Paris, Mattheu Guillemot), and in 1617 the tradesman engraver Jaspar Isaac did another copy (Paris, Mme. L'Angelier), which was used once again for a 1655 Du Ryer translation. German engravers also imitated Franco. Mattheus Merian cut the engravings for a quarto edition (Frankfort: Johann Theodor de Bry, 1619). These in turn served as the models for J. Blanchin, whose engravings appeared in two later editions (Rouen: Jean Barthelin, 1638 and 1643). There were, therefore, several editions on the Continent which used perspective illustrations for Ovid, and Sandys was probably referring to some of these when he mentioned Ovid editions which in other countries had been "rendred in so many languages, illustrated by Comments, and imbelished with Figures."⁹⁹ His use of perspective might have come from one of these editions but his engraver did not copy from any of them. The plates for Sandys's work were newly designed and, like Franco's illustrations, were themselves to influence later editions.

NOTES

¹Allen, Mysteriously Meant, 107-12. My survey is based primarily on Allen's work and George Boas' preface to The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo.

²Boas, Hieroglyphics, 22.

³Ibid., 28; for a more detailed discussion of the visual image in Neo-Platonic thought see: Gombrich, "Icones Symbolicae," JWCI, XI (1948), 163-92. Also compare Raphael's speech on knowledge in Paradise Lost:

Discursive, or Intuitive; discourse

Is ofttest yours, the latter most is ours . . .

V. 488-89

with Adam's naming of the animals:

I nam'd them, as they pass'd, and understood

Thir Nature, with such knowledge God endu'd

My sudden apprehension . . .

VIII. 352-54.

⁴Seznec, Survival of the Pagan Gods, 99-100.

⁵Boas, Hieroglyphics, 29.

⁶Ibid., 39.

⁷Sandys, Metamorphosis, 8.

⁸Seznec (Survival of the Pagan Gods, 100) cites Praz and Praz in turn refers to a study by Ludwig Volkman (Bilderschriften der Renaissance, Hieroglyphik und Emblematik in ihren Beziehungen und Fortwirkungen, Leipzig, 1933) a work which I have not been able to read. Boas also holds this view. Allen, Mysteriously Meant, 112.

⁹Praz, Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery, 39.

¹⁰My discussion of English emblem literature is indebted to Rosemary Freeman's English Emblem Books.

¹¹Wither, Emblems, prelim. A2v.

¹²A.F. Johnson finds only nineteen plates prior to 1600 and states that the popularity of the engraved title pages was declining in the 1690s, Johnson, Catalogue, viii, x. My discussion of this subject is indebted to Johnson's work.

¹³Unless otherwise indicated my comments are based on the illustrations in Johnson's Catalogue.

¹⁴Rich, Harington & Ariosto, 54.

¹⁵Gilbert, Symbolic Persons, 121; my discussion of this frontispiece is drawn from Gilbert's analysis in Symbolic Persons. Gilbert's reference to Cicero is De oratore 2.36.

¹⁶Jonson, Works, VIII, 175-76.

¹⁷Peacham, Compleat Gentleman, 208.

¹⁸For an illustration of the ceiling panel designs taken from Peacham's book see Mercer, English Art 1553-1625, pl. 33.

¹⁹Jane Aptaker in Icons of Justice treats the influence of emblem literature on Book V. For discussions of Shakespeare and emblem literature see Henry Green Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers, and Pelligrini's "Symbols and Significances" in Shakespeare Survey No. 17, 180-87.

²⁰Manningham, Diary, 3; the editor of the diary notes that this gallery is also mentioned by Hentzner (1598) and Pepys in his diary twice mentions the "Shield Gallery" in Whitehall, Diary, I, 181, 238.

²¹Chambers, William Shakespeare, II, 153.

²²Daniel, The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses, in Book of Masques, 29.

²³Nicoll, "Court Hieroglyphics," in Stuart Masques, 154-91.

²⁴Gilbert, Symbolic Persons, 10.

²⁵Daniel, in Book of Masques, 26; Nicoll, Stuart Masques, 155.

²⁶Shirley, in Book of Masques, 286.

²⁷Nicoll, Stuart Masques, 156.

²⁸Much of this discussion is indebted to Don Cameron Allen, "Ben Jonson and the Hieroglyphics," PQ, XVIII (1939), 290-300, and Gilbert, Symbolic Persons, 3-8.

²⁹Jonson, Works, VII, 91.

³⁰Ibid., 177.

³¹Boas, Hieroglyphics, 28, 22.

³²E.H. Gombrich states that "The vogue of the hieroglyph and emblem and the whole wealth of pictorial symbolism which followed on the Neo-Platonic movement can hardly be understood except against this background." "Icones Symbolicae," JWCI, XI (1948), 173.

³³Jonson, Ben Jonson, VII, 305; I, 269.

³⁴Gilbert, Symbolic Persons, 8-11.

³⁵Praz, Studies in Seventeenth Imagery, 24-25.

³⁶Seznec, Survival of the Pagan Gods, 232-33.

³⁷Ibid., 278.

³⁸Strong, The Elizabethan Image, 23, no. 29.

³⁹Strong, Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I, 79, no. 81, and pl. VI.

⁴⁰An example of Hans Eworth's incorporation of personification in a dynastic painting can be seen in his 1570 painting of the Tudor family with the additional figures of War, Discord and Peace. Piper, "Painting," The Tudor Period in Connoisseur Period Guides, I, pl. 22b.

⁴¹My general discussion of Tudor painting is indebted to Piper, "Painting," The Tudor Period; Buxton, Elizabethan Taste; and Waterhouse, Painting in Britain.

⁴²Thomas, "Pictures of the Great Earl of Leicester," Notes and Queries, 3rd Series, II (Sept. 20, 1862), 224-25.

⁴³Croft-Murray, Decorative Painting, I, 185.

⁴⁴Ibid., 184.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Cust, "The Lumley Inventories," Walpole Society, VI (1917-18), 27.

⁴⁸King, "Textiles," The Tudor Period, 105.

⁴⁹Hervey, "A Lumley Inventory of 1609," Walpole Society, VI (1917-18), 40, 42.

⁵⁰Thomson, Tapestry Weaving in England, 35-42, 109-31.

⁵¹Stone, Crisis of the Aristocracy, 713-14.

⁵²Sainsbury, ed., Original Unpublished Papers . . . of . . . Rubens, 274, 275.

⁵³Hawcroft, The Arts, 26.

⁵⁴Smith, The Life and Letters of . . . Wotton, I, 419; Millar, ed., Abraham Van Der Doort's Catalogue, 226, no. 2.

⁵⁵Betcherman, "Balthazar Gerbier in seventeenth-century Italy," History Today, XI (1961), 331; Goodman, Court of James the First, II, 339.

⁵⁶Burckhardt, Recollections of Rubens, 204-14.

⁵⁷Ibid., 206-7.

⁵⁸Avermaete, Rubens and His Times, 120.

⁵⁹Sainsbury, ed., Original Unpublished Papers . . . of . . .
Rubens, 65.

⁶⁰Martin, "Rubens and Buckingham . . .," Burlington Magazine,
 CVIII (1966), 613-18.

⁶¹For Titian's use of Ovid see: Panofsky, Problems in Titian,
 139-71; Phillips, "Picture Gallery," Portfolio, 20.

⁶²Cammel, The Great Duke of Buckingham, 353.

⁶³Millar, ed., Abraham Van Der Doort's Catalogue, 18, no. 9;
 19, no. 12; 44, no. 14; 205, no. 4; 52, no. 60; 22, no. 12; 156, no. 1;
 46, no. 23; 60, no. 99; 55, no. 74; 173, no. 11; 180, no. 10; 185, no. 4;
 186, no. 11; 190, no. 15; 191, no. 7.

⁶⁴Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting in England, II, 197.

⁶⁵Millar, ed., Abraham Van Der Doort's Catalogue, 4.

⁶⁶Rooses, Rubens, II, 496.

⁶⁷Burckhardt, Recollections of Rubens, 230.

⁶⁸Millar and Whinney, English Art 1625-1714, 74.

⁶⁹Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting in England, II, 159.

⁷⁰Davies, "An Inventory of the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures,"
Burlington Magazine, X (1906-7), 376-82.

⁷¹Thomson, Tapestry Weaving in England, 75.

⁷²Ibid., 86, 129.

⁷³Ibid., 84.

⁷⁴Waterhouse, Painting in Britain, 17.

⁷⁵Strong, Portraits of Elizabeth, 68, pls. X, XXc. My discussion
 of this portrait is generally indebted to Mr. Strong's work.

⁷⁶Ibid., 68.

⁷⁷My summary is based on Thomson, Tapestry Weaving in England,
 35-42.

⁷⁸Indications of preferences during the seventeenth century can
 be found in Thomson's lists of inventories and discussion of the Mortlake
 production in Tapestry Weaving in England, 66-131. For a discussion of
 the popularity of Ovidian myth see: Digby, "Late Mortlake Tapestries,"
Connoisseur (U.S.A.), CXXXIV, no. 542 (Dec. 1954), 239, 241.

⁷⁹Sainsbury, ed., Original Unpublished Papers . . . of . . .
Rubens, 274.

⁸⁰Batho, ed., Household Papers of Henry Percy, 119.

⁸¹Sainsbury, ed., Original Unpublished Papers . . . of . . .
Rubens, 291.

⁸²Ibid., 294.

⁸³Huxley, Endymion Porter, 158.

⁸⁴Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles I. 1629-31,
 216.

⁸⁵Millar and Whinney, English Art 1625-1714, 287.

⁸⁶Burckhardt, Recollections of Rubens, 28, pls. 87-9.

⁸⁷Thomson, Tapestry Weaving in England, 86.

⁸⁸Millar, ed., Abraham Van Der Doort's Catalogue, 97, no. 37.

⁸⁹Ibid., 97-100, 213.

⁹⁰Much of my general knowledge of the history of book illustration
 is based on David Bland's A History of Book Illustration.

⁹¹I have found only two illustrated editions of Homer (1545, 1614)
 and eight of Virgil. The following list is drawn from Bland's History of
Book Illustration, Brun's Le Livre Francais Illustre De La Renaissance,
 and Tchermersine's Livres a Figures Rares et Precieux. Homer: Les Dix
premiers livres de l'Iliade . . ., Paris: J. Loys pour V. Sertenas,
 1545; L'Iliade . . ., Paris: N. Buon, 1614. Virgil: Virgil . . .,
 Strassburg: J. Gruninger, 1502; Opera, Paris, n.d.; Opera Vergiliana . . .,
 Lyon: J. Saccon pour Ciriacus Hochperg, 1517; Opera Vergiliana . . .,
 Lyon: J. Crispin, 1529; Opera Vergiliana . . ., Lyon: Mareschal, 1528;
Les Oeuvres . . ., Paris: Ch. Langelier, 1540; Les quatre premiers livres
de l'Eneide . . ., Lyon: J. de Tournes, 1552; Ibid., 1557; Ibid., 1560;
Opera . . ., Paris: J. de Marnef, 1580.

⁹²Bland, History of Book Illustration, 140-43. I have also found
 illustrations which use perspective in Guarini's Il Pastor Fido, 1602
 (see Gilbert, Symbolic Persons, pl. 4.) and Amadis de Gaule, 1540-56
 (see Brun, Le Livre Francais Illustre, 108-9, pl. XII).

⁹³Rich, Harington & Ariosto, 51-58.

⁹⁴Harington, trans., Orlando Furioso.

⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶Duff, "England," in A.W. Pollard, Early Illustrated Books, 248.

⁹⁷ This brief survey is drawn from Svetlana Alpers' chapter, "The Tradition of the Illustrated Ovids and Rubens's Sketches for the Torre De La Parada" in Decoration of the Torre De La Parada, 78-100.

⁹⁸ My information for this type of illustration is drawn from Henkel, "Illustrierte Ausgaben Von Ovids Metamorphosen . . .," in Vorträge Der Bibliothek Warburg Herausgegeben Von Fritz Saxl, 58-144; and Alpers, Decoration of the Torre De La Parada, 91-92.

⁹⁹ Sandys, Metamorphosis, 10.

CHAPTER V

THE EMBLEMATIC NATURE OF SANDYS'S OVID

In deciding to illustrate all of the Metamorphoses with engravings Sandys and his designer faced a choice of two different techniques. They could follow the technique of many of the earlier Continental editions of Ovid and include a large number of small vignettes depicting individual events, or try to illustrate each book with a single plate as had Franco and his imitators.

The latter technique was a fairly new trend in book illustration and had seldom been used in England. A comparison with the Biblia Pauperum shows the contrast between the old and new techniques employed to represent visually events that take place at different times. The Christian typology, which is the central structural device of the Biblia Pauperum, necessitates a comparison of Old and New Testament events. On any page of the book the central picture of the three major pictures depicts an event in the life of Christ while the two pictures on either side, which are separated from the central one, present events in the Old Testament which foreshadowed the event in Christ's life.¹ For the typological illustrator chronological distinctions are not of primary importance since the incarnation affects all ages. He emphasizes the events which prefigure Christ's life, stressing an influence which transcends temporal progression. In the opposing technique (which Sandys decided to employ) the ordering of temporal progression receives greater

emphasis through the use of perspective. The first event in each book is presented at the bottom (front) of the engraving. The next event is placed further back and on another plane, and the figures, in accordance with the demands of the perspective, are comparatively smaller than the first event. This technique is carried out for the whole book. Through the use of perspective the engraver visually relates the major events of the book in their narrative order. The technique limits the freedom of the illustrator for he has to adhere to the narrative progression (for example, the final events in the book must be placed deep within the perspective and it would be difficult for the illustrator to overemphasize them). Sandys's selection of this technique also gave him another means of presenting the complex narrative progression of Ovid's poem to the reader. This was a definite advantage over the use of small vignettes.

While Sandys derived his new technique of book illustration from such predecessors as Franco and Harington, he had already shown an interest in book illustration when he included illustrations in A Relation of a Journey begun Anno Dom. 1610 (1615). He selected Francis Delaram to engrave the illustrations, which consisted of a title page with emblematic figures of various countries, a map, and forty-eight plates, some of which were probably designed from sketches made by Sandys. The plates have been described as "very delicate engravings" and David Bland claims that the beginning of an English style of engraving can be seen in them.²

Sandys also employed Delaram to engrave the title page for the 1621 edition of the first five books of the Metamorphoses, but after 1624 Delaram was no longer working, and when Sandys began to prepare his

1632 edition, a new illustrator had to be selected. His choice was Francis Cleyn (or Clein), the principal designer for the royal tapestry works at Mortlake, which King James had established in 1619.³ Cleyn had originally been retained in the service of King Christian IV of Denmark, but in 1623, when he visited England, King James so liked his work that he personally wrote to Christian requesting his services.⁴ In the service of James, Cleyn's main tasks were with the Mortlake works, which wove some of the finest tapestries in Europe during this period, but he also had other tasks, for in 1625 there is a record of his making drawings for "ye Arch Triumphall," the construction of which was supervised by Inigo Jones.⁵ At Mortlake he designed several sets of tapestries including a set on the seasons and a set of grotesques in which the bordering medallions portrayed scenes from fables. Another set of six relates the story of Hero and Leander. The hangings depict the major events, but there is no use of perspective to relate a succession of events in the narrative. Cleyn's most famous undertaking at Mortlake was the supervision of the copying of Raphael's cartoons of The Acts of the Apostles (ca. 1629). These tapestries were the most important product of Mortlake, and the "Royal set, even in its present faded condition, gives perhaps a truer impression of the magnificence which Charles I loved than any surviving works of the period except for the grandest of Van Dyck's portraits and the Rubens ceiling at Whitehall."⁶ In addition to supervising their preparation Cleyn designed new borders for the set.

During Charles's reign Cleyn also did some interior decorating for several persons within the courtly circle, while still maintaining his position at Mortlake. Some of his works and clients were Ham House for William Murray, 1st Earl of Dysart; Holland House for Sir Henry Rich,

1st Earl of Holland; Parsons Green for Thomas Carey, son of Robert Carey, 1st Earl of Monmouth; Hanworth Park for Sir Francis Cottington, 1st Lord Cottington; and the Old Somerset House for Queen Henrietta Maria.⁷ In his decorative painting he was famed for his history and his grotesque. Sir Francis Cottington praises Cleyn in a letter to Lord Strafford by describing the decorations as "all painted by the hand of a second Titian."⁸ The height of the praise, which may be partially attributed to the lord's own interest in Hanworth Park, becomes apparent when Charles's "obsessive admiration" of Titian is recalled.⁹

Cleyn's engravings for the Metamorphosis are the only book illustrations he did before the 1650s. During the latter part of his life, however, he was less prosperous, and designing book illustrations became his chief employment. Some of his work is described by Walpole: "He made designs for various artists; particularly for several of Hollar's plates to Virgil and Aesop: for these he received fifty shillings a piece."¹⁰ Ogilby published this edition of Aesop in 1651 and the English edition of Virgil in 1654, the Latin edition following in 1658. To these works by Cleyn the Dictionary of National Biography adds an illustrated Homer published in 1660, the title pages for E. Montagu's Lacrymae Musarum (1650) and Thomas Fuller's A Pisgahsight of Palestine (1650), plus the frontispiece to Lysis, or the Extravagant Shepherd (1654). His illustrations for Virgil, which were engraved by Hollar, were so admired by the King of France that he had them copied for his own special edition.¹¹ Some of the same illustrations were also used as the basis for the wall paintings in Adlington Hall at the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹² Cleyn had apparently adjusted with some success to this new means of livelihood.

This brief vignette of Cleyn's work offers some tentative but interesting evidence of the milieu in which Sandys was moving when he returned from America. Since Sandys was one of the few untitled persons to employ Cleyn during the period when his main employment was as the official tapestry designer for the King and as an interior decorator for the nobility, Sandys must have had acquaintances within the court circle who recommended Cleyn to him. Other evidence also reveals Sandys's favor at court and further associations with nobility. The twenty-one-year patent which King Charles granted to Sandys in 1626 for the exclusive right of printing and selling the Metamorphosis indicates the favor that Sandys held with King Charles. During the 1630s Sandys became a friend of Lucius Cary, Second Viscount Falkland, and thus a member of the circle at Great Tew. Finally, according to Anthony Wood, Sandys during his last years was made "one of the gent. of the privy chamber to K. Ch. I."¹³ All these facts associate Sandys with the court and the nobility that gathered around it.

This discussion of Cleyn and Sandys leads directly to the illustrations of the 1632 edition. The first example of Cleyn's work which the reader encounters is the elaborate frontispiece. A detailed consideration of it will show that the basic organization of the engraving must have been designed for the Metamorphosis, for it visually presents some of the central assumptions of the work. Sandys first used this basic design in the 1626 edition with the poem entitled "The Minde of the Frontispiece" on the facing page. (In the 1632 edition it is on the following page.) Cleyn's design, which was engraved by Salomon Savery, is decidedly better than either the 1626 frontispiece, which was based on the same pattern but engraved by T. Cecil, or the unauthorized 1628 duodecimo.



Sandys's frontispiece falls within the tradition of the emblematic title pages discussed in the preceding chapter. The engraving and interpretative poem should be read like an emblem where the illustration is first considered and then the poem is read.

For the illustration of the frontispiece Sandys chose a classically designed entrance with deities stationed around it.¹⁴ A hanging curtain covers the recessed entrance and on it is engraved the title: "Ovid's Metamorphosis. Englished Mythologiz'd And Represented in figures by G.S." On either side of the entrance the platform extends forward and supports two Corinthian columns and their entablatures.

Although Cleyn's columns and lintel dominate the title page scene much more than the proscenium arch of a masque could ever dominate a stage, there are affinities between the engraving and designs for contemporary masques. The proscenium arch was not yet used on the commercial theater stage, but in the court masques " . . . such an arch, specially constructed for the occasion, seems to have been the almost regular accompaniment of all the masques superintended by Inigo Jones."¹⁵ Samuel Daniel thus describes the proscenium arch in Tethys' Festival (1610), one of Inigo Jones' early designs:

On the travers, which served as a curtaine for the first scene, was figured a darke cloude, interspersed with certaine sparkling starres, which, at the sound of a loud musick, being instantly drawne, the scene was discovered, with these adornements: First, on eyther side stooode a great statue twelve foot high, representing Neptune and Nereus. Neptune holding a trident, with an anchor made to it, and this mot: His artibus; that is, regendo et retinendo, alluding to this verse of Virgil, Hae tibi erunt artes, &c. Nereus holding out a golden fish in a net, with the word Industria; the reason whereof is delivered after, in the Speech uttered by Triton. These Sea-gods stood on pedestals, and were al of gold.

The engraved title page (frontispiece) to the 1640 edition of Sandys's Metamorphosis. Except for the date the print is identical with the 1632 title page.

Behinde them were two pillasters, on which hung compartments with other devises; and these bore up a rich freeze, wherein were figures of tenne foot long of Flouds and Nymphes, with a number of naked children, dallying with a draperie which they seemed to holde up, that the scene might be seene, and the ends thereof fell downe in folds by the pillasters. In the midst was a compartment, with this inscription, "Tethyos Epinicia," Tethys' feats of triumph. This was supported by two winged boyes, and all the worke was done with that force and boldnesse on the gold and silver, as the figures seemed round and not painted.¹⁶

This basic design, figures both overhead and on either side in front of the columns, occurs frequently in both emblematic frontispieces and masques. Jones' sketches of the arches in Albions Triumph (1632) by Aurelian Townshend, The Shepherd's Paradise (1633) by Walter Montagu and Coelum Britannicum (1633) by Thomas Carew provide later illustrations of these arches in Stuart masques.¹⁷

Ben Jonson suggests another related structure in his description of the opening scene of the masque Lovers Made Men (1617):

The front before the scene, was an Arch-Triumphall. On the top of which, Humanitie placed in figure, sate with her lap full of flowers, scattering them with her right hand; and holding a golden chaine in her left hand: to shew both the freedome, and the bond of Courtesie, with this inscription. Super Omnia Vultus. On the two sides of the Arch Cheerefulnes, and Readines, her servants. Cheerefulnes, in a loose flowing garment, filling out wine from an antique piece of plate; with this word, Adsit laetitiae dator. Readines, a winged Mayd, with two flaming bright lights in her hands; and her word, Amor addidit alas.¹⁸

Francis Cleyn, who made drawings for a triumphal arch constructed under Jones' supervision in 1625, might well have had such a structure in mind when he prepared Sandys's frontispiece. When he was in the service of King James and King Charles, he also probably worked on Jones' masque designs, for his skill in grotesques would have been very useful in decorating the scenes. Cleyn's addition of the curtain on Sandys's frontispiece (it suggests a masque curtain) also indicates that he had the proscenium arch of the masque in mind when he worked on the engraving. The frontispiece, then, is similar in construction to the proscenium arch

and curtain of the masque, and, to extend the analogy, the illustrations of each following book may be seen as resembling the elaborate changing perspectives of the courtly masques.

Just as the allegorical figures on the proscenium arch of the masque made mute comment on the significance of the masque, the figures on Sandys's frontispiece allegorically embody the significance of the book, and this illustration, therefore, needs a detailed consideration. The gods on and about this structure are for the greater part identifiable by their traditional attributes. In the lower left corner in front of the platform a goddess sits holding a cornucopia while a cow peers out from behind her. She is probably Ceres, as Don Cameron Allen has stated, although the identification is not final.¹⁹ At the bottom in the right-hand corner Neptune appears riding a wave, easily identifiable by the trident he carries and the fish tail discernable at his right side. Standing on the left side of the platform in front of the columns is a semi-nude Venus holding a flaming heart, and at her side is Cupid holding a bow and arrow. On the right side in front of the columns Minerva stands in armor bearing her spear and her shield with Medusa's head. Above Venus, Jupiter, wearing his crown, half reclines on the cornice. Suspended in air next to him is a salamander whose significance is not immediately apparent. Across from Jupiter on the opposing or right cornice Juno sits wearing her crown with her traditional peacock standing next to her. In her right hand she holds a chameleon whose significance is also not immediately apparent. Between Jupiter and Juno and a little below them Apollo straddles the lintel of the recessed entrance. He appears as the god of poetry for he holds his lyre, and a laurel wreath rests on his head. Above Apollo in the top center of the engraving, Hercules, with

his club on his shoulder and wearing his lion skin, drives a chariot upward into the clouds. Immediately below him "Ad Aethera Virtus" (Virtue [ascends] to heaven) is inscribed on the clouds.

The octagonal inset at the bottom center of the engraving is all that remains to be described. The frame bears the inscription "Affigit Humo Divinae Particulam Aurae" which may be translated, "She affixes a part of the divine breath to the ground." Within the inset a scene from the Odyssey is depicted: Circe transforming the men of Odysseus into swine.²⁰ One has already been transformed and she is taking her goblet of the charmed potion away from another who has a human body and the head of a hog. With her other hand Circe waves her magic wand over the two remaining men.

The whole meaning of this scene and inscription becomes clearer after one reads the motto engraved on the medallions below Jupiter, Juno, Apollo, Ceres and Neptune, and the accompanying poem. The phrases on the medallions form the motto "Exhis Docuit Quae Oriuntur Cuncta." This, however, is not the complete sentence for the phrase beneath Venus and Minerva, which is in much smaller print, must be added. Recourse to the 1626 engraving reveals that the words in this phrase originally were larger and were intended to be read with the words on the medallions. With this phrase "Amore formantur et Sapientia" the whole sentence can be translated into "All that he taught begins from these and they are formed by Love and Wisdom."²¹

With the initial description of the illustration complete, the literal meaning of the motto is fairly apparent. Sandys is stating that all Ovid taught comes from the deities (Jupiter, Juno, Ceres and Neptune) and is formed or shaped by Love and Wisdom. Venus and Minerva are

obviously personifications of these two virtues, but the full meaning of the other four gods is not so clear.

The accompanying poem entitled "The Minde of the Frontispiece, and Argument of this Worke" suggests the significance of the deities and at the same time offers the means for consolidating the inset and Hercules into the rest of the illustration so that the frontispiece becomes one unified statement on the nature of Ovid's book. Sandys first interprets the frontispiece in a couplet paragraph, and then in the following three triplets and concluding couplet he makes a more abstract statement on the nature of ancient fables.

FIRE, AIRE, EARTH, WATER, all the Opposites
That strove in Chaos, powrefull Love unites;
And from their Discord drew this Harmonie,
Which smiles in Nature: who, with ravisht eye,
Affects his owne made Beauties. But, our Will,
Desire, and Powres Irascible, the skill
Of PALLAS orders; who the Mind attires
With all Heroick Vertues: This aspires
To Fame and Glorie; by her noble Guide
Eternized, and well-nigh Deifi'd.
But who forsake that faire Intelligence,
To follow Passion, and voluptuous Sense;
That shun the Path and Toyles of HERCULES;
Such, charm'd by CIRCE'S luxurie, and ease,
Themselves deforme: 'twixt whom so great an ods;
That these are Held for Beasts, and those for Gods.

Phoebus Apollo (sacred Poesy)
Thus taught: for in these ancient Fables lie
The mysteries of all Philosophie.

Some Natures secrets shew; in some appeare
Distempers staines; some teach us how to beare
Both Fortunes, bridling Joy, Griefe, Hope, and Feare.

These Pietie, Devotion those excite;
These prompt to Vertue, those from Vice affright;
All fitly mingling Profit with Delight.

This Course our Poet steeres: and those that faile,
By wandring stars, not by his Compasse, saile.²²

The triplets, offering Sandys's opinion of the nature of myth, clarify

the assumptions that underlie the allegory of the illustration and thus offer the best starting point for an interpretation. The first triplet confirms Apollo's role as god of poetry and states the basic assumption that the mysteries of philosophy lie hidden in the myths.

Sandys then lists the different kinds of philosophical truths which are found in myths. The first kind mentioned is "Natures secrets," and the way in which the secrets of nature are hidden in mythology is suggested in the first two lines of the poem. The emphatic listing of the four elements at the beginning of the poem attracts the reader's attention and suggests that there is some relationship between them and the illustration, for both syntax and meter are distorted in order to give them a prominent position. The next line, which sets out Love's role as the force which unites the four, is an obvious elaboration on the role of Love suggested in the Latin motto. Given this association the first half of the motto must refer, at least on one level of meaning, to the four elements, and there should also be a visual presentation of the four elements in the frontispiece. The "Exhis" of the motto must refer to the elements, and, in reconsidering the illustration, one can detect references to the elements. Neptune represents the element of water, and Ceres with her cornucopia, the earth. In looking for details associated with the remaining two elements the significance of the unusual design surrounding Jupiter becomes apparent. Flames of fire encompass both Jupiter and the salamander. These associations of the three elements with the deities situated in the three corners of the illustration suggest that Juno, who is in the fourth corner, should have some symbolic attribute associating her with the fourth element, air.

Juno and the chameleon have these associations, for instance, in

Cesare Ripa's Iconologia, a work which Emile Mâle describes as "the key to painted and sculptured allegories of the seventeenth century."²³

In the section entitled "Elementi" Ripa gives the following description as a way to represent symbolically the element of air:

Donna con i capelli sollouati, & sparsi al vento
che sedendo sopra le nuuole, tenga in mano un bel
pauone, come animale consecrato à Giunone Dea
dell'aria, & si vedranno volare per l'aria varij
uccelli, & a i piedi di detta figura vi sarà un
camaleonte, come animale, che non mangia cosa
alcuna, ne beue: ma solo d'Aria si pasce, & viue.
Ciò riferisce Plinio nel lib.8.c.33.²⁴

A lady sitting above the clouds with her hair
uplifted and scattered by the wind holds in
her hand a beautiful peacock, an animal con-
secrated to Juno goddess of the air. Various
birds are seen flying through the air and at
the feet of the said [lady] will be a chameleon,
as an animal that eats nothing, nor drinks:
but only feeds and lives upon the air. Pliny
refers to it in Bk. 8. ch. 33.

A passage under the subject of fire on the previous page relates the
significance of Jupiter's salamander:

Donna che con ambe le mani tenga vn bel
vaso pieno di foco, da una parte vi sarà
una salamandra in mezo d'vn foco, e dall'
altra vna fenice parimente in vna fiamma,
sopra la quale sia vn risplendente Sole,
ouero in cambio della fenice il pirale,
che è animale con le penne, il quale (come
seriue Plinio, & riferisce il Thomai nella
sua idea del Giardino del mondo al cap.51.)
viue tanto, quanto sta nel fuoco, & spen-
gendosi quello, vola poco lontano, & subito
si muore.

.
Questo animale è tanto freddo, che spegne
il fuoco tocco non altrimenti, che farebbe il
ghiaccio, & dicesi anco, che quest'animale
sta, & viue nel fuoco, & più tosto l'estingue,
che da quello riceua nocumento alcuno, come
dicono Aristotele, & altri serittori delle
cose naturali.²⁵

A woman who holds with both hands a beautiful vase of fire. On one side there will be a salamander in the middle of a fire, and on the other side a phoenix equally in a flame. Above it might be a shining sun, or instead the funeral pyre of the phoenix, a winged animal, which (as Pliny writes and Tomai refers to in his idea of the Garden of the world ch. 51) lives as long as he is in the fire, when the fire dies he flies a little ways away and suddenly dies.

.....
This animal [the salamander] is so cold that he dies. Fire touches him in no other way than ice. He [Pliny] also says that this animal exists and lives in fire from which he receives no injury rather than dies in it. Aristotle and other authors of natural history also report this.

Further evidence suggesting that Ripa was used appears under the sections on earth and water:

Si veste con habito pieno di varij fiori,
& herbe, & con il cornucopia pieno di più
forte di frutti, & con la ghirlanda
sopradetta in capo, percioche la terra rende
ogni forte di frutti, come ben dimostra
Ouidio neo lib. 1 de arte amandi,

She wears a dress full of various flowers
and herbs and with a cornucopia full of
most kinds of fruit. The garland mentioned
above is on her head because the earth
brings forth all sorts of fruit as Ovid
well demonstrates in the first Book of
the Ars Amatoria.

Gli antichi per l'acqua faceuano Nettunno
vecchio, tirato per l'onde da due caualli,
con tridente in mano, di che sono scritte
l'interpretationi da gl'altri.²⁶

For water the ancients contrived old Neptune,
drawn through the waters by two horses with
a trident in his hand concerning which other
people have written interpretations.

The great popularity of the Iconologia and the fact that these four passages are grouped together under a section entitled "Elementi" argue

that the illustrator relied on Ripa when designing the emblematic title page.

With the uncovering of these hidden meanings in the illustration the first half of the motto, "all that he taught commences from these," gains new meanings. It can be read on a literal level as stating that all that Ovid taught commences with the classical deities. Sandys, however, also believes that ancient myths contain secrets of nature, and for him the gods at times can allegorically represent the four elements. When read as referring to these secrets of nature a further implication of the motto appears in the first five lines of the poem. The creation of the world out of the chaotic elements which is discussed here suggests that certain words in the motto, "oriuntur" and "Amore formantur," allude to the creation, the first subject dealt with in the Metamorphoses. This reading shows how Sandys perceived the ancients to be hiding secrets of nature in their myths.

While the first line of the second triplet refers to the secrets of nature discovered in myth, the rest of the triplet and most of the next describe a different type of hidden truth which Sandys finds in ancient fables. He discusses in turn the emotions, their control, and then instruction in religious and moral values, asserting that these moral lessons are also present in Ovid. In the illustration, Minerva, the personification of wisdom, exemplifies this facet of the hidden truths found in the work. She and Love are the formative forces in the motto and in the poem she is the "noble Guide" who controls the will, desire, and irascible powers while attiring the mind with heroic virtues.

If Minerva controls the mind, it will strive after the heroic virtues of fame and glory and like Hercules ascend to the heavens. If,

on the other hand, the senses and passion control the mind, it will eventually lose its distinctly human characteristics of wisdom, and will come to resemble an animal who merely responds to his physical desires. The myth of Circe in the inset is a moral warning against these dangers, and the poem explicitly states this. Circe's "luxurie, and ease" have charmed Ulysses' men until they are literally and figuratively transformed into beasts. In his moral reading of the myth Sandys, following convention, interprets the external metamorphosis as an outward manifestation of the internal state of the soul. The motto to the inset also refers to their transformation from men to beasts, for the phrase "divine breath" refers to the souls of the men which are now fastened to the earth by their vices.

Now the full emblematic meaning of the illustration can be summarized. The engraving and poem together make an emblematic statement of two of the major allegorical interpretations Sandys applies to myth. Sandys illustrates how secrets of nature are found in the Metamorphosis by showing the association of Jupiter, Juno, Ceres and Neptune with their respective elements. He adds to this a reference to the creation myth with Love as the formative force. With the introduction of Love Sandys introduces his other type of interpretation, the discovery of hidden moral truths and exemplars in Ovid's work. He illustrates this by showing that the influence of Minerva or Wisdom can lead the reader to virtuous rewards as shown in Hercules' ascent to heaven, but in the absence of Wisdom he can become a slave of his bestial desires as illustrated in Circe's transformation of Ulysses' men into swine. These two episodes at the top and bottom of the engraving show the heights and depths that man can reach.

Carmina quam tribuunt, Fama perennis erit.

*Mercurius hinc, Decore decorat, Apollo
Omne tulit punctum, una trophaeq; gerens*



One final note can be added. Sandys's allegorical interpretations of the myths allow him to defend his study of pagan myths. I do not know of any attacks on his work, but regardless of that, Sandys concluded his poem on a defensive note. After stressing the truths, both natural and moral, which are hidden in Ovid's poem he ends with this final couplet:

This Course our Poet steeres: and those that faile
By wandring stars, not by his Compasse, saile.

The argument is traditional.

The frontispiece has the greatest affinities with an emblem. In contrast to this the engraving which presents the portrait of Ovid has little to offer. Fame is the only personification present. Francis Cleyne has depicted her reclining on some clouds which billow across the top of the page: she holds in one hand the horn which she is blowing and in the other a quill. The Latin line above her, "Carmina quam tribuunt, Fama perennis erit," can be translated "the fame which verses grant will be everlasting."

Beneath Fame the engraver has inscribed the Latin lines "Mercurius Lingua Plectro ditavit Apollo. / Omne tulit punctum; bina trophaea gerens." ("Mercury enriched him with the language, Apollo with lyric poetry. He won every vote; bearing the double trophy.") The last line echoes Horace's Ars Poetica "omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci," or "He wins every vote who combines the sweet and the useful."²⁷ Below this a portrait of Ovid rests on a pedestal, and on either side Apollo and Mercury stand holding a laurel wreath over it. Apollo, god of poetry, carries his lyre,

The engraved portrait of Ovid in the 1640 edition of Sandys's Metamorphosis.

and Mercury, identified by his winged feet and caduceus, appears as god of oratory. The Latin inscription on the frame of the portrait gives Ovid's name and then describes him as a Roman knight and the most talented of poets.

On the front of the pedestal a large medallion bears a four-line English poem inviting the reader to "behold" Ovid's "Counterfeit" and then "view" his poem. On either side of this the two faces of a silver medal are shown, one side of which presents another portrait of Ovid. Sandys's use of this medal reflects an interest of his age. Arundel, Buckingham and Charles all collected coins and other classical antiquities. The antiquarian vogue was so popular that by 1632 Earle could give the character of an antiquary in his Microcosmography and in 1634 Peacham included a chapter on antiquities in his revised edition of The Compleat Gentleman.²⁸ Sandys shares this interest in medals and classical coins. The symbolic associations of the images of an apple, peacock and cornucopia found stamped on various classical coins are related by Sandys at appropriate points in the commentary.²⁹ His interest in classical antiquities also extends beyond coins. In the prefatory "Life of Ovid" he speaks of distinguished Romans wearing rings which carry the image of Ovid. "One have I seene in a Cornelian, of exquisite workmanship, with his name ingraven on the one side and certain obscure characters on the other, supposed as ancient as those times: I have also an old Medall of Silver stamped with his image: both which are presented under his Figure, with the Reverse of the latter."³⁰ The ring is mounted above the medallion on the illustration. Although the ring, medal and allegorical figures suggest Sandys's interest in emblematic illustration, the whole illustration can hardly be termed emblematic.



In contrast to the portrait of Ovid the illustrations of each book are fairly emblematic. The format is such that the reader first encounters the engraving of the events in the next book and then goes on to read the translation which elaborates the illustration, just as the verse in an emblem expands upon the images in the illustration.

The events selected for illustration do not coincide exactly with either the short poetic summary of each book which precedes the translation or the divisions made in the commentaries. Cleyn apparently selected the events he wanted to illustrate (the number of events illustrated per book ranges from five events in Book VI to seventeen events in Book II) independently of any of Sandys's organizing principles. In the events pictured, Cleyn's use of perspective generally coincides with the narrative sequence so that the events which occur at the end of the book are usually farthest back in the perspective; the relation between perspective and narrative, however, is not as consistent as in Coxon's illustrations for Orlando Furioso. These inconsistencies can be partially attributed to Cleyn's lack of concern, but some of them are due to his too-faithful adherence to the material he was illustrating. An example of this occurs in the illustration of Book VII when Medea rides her chariot over distant lands and then sees Hyrie and Cygnus. In order to show this distance Cleyn has placed the metamorphosis of Hyrie and Cygnus further back in the perspective. This fidelity to the story breaks the correlation between perspective and narrative sequence. The same problem occurs in Book XII where Cleyn has placed the House of Fame relatively far back in the perspective although it is only the third topic in the narrative.

The illustration preceding Book I of the 1640 edition of Sandys's Metamorphosis. This presents a good example of Cleyn's use of perspective.

Most of the events depicted can be easily identified. The gods appear with their traditional attributes. Neptune carries his trident and Mercury his caduceus. Jupiter and Juno are usually crowned; Jupiter often appears clasping bolts of lightning and riding an eagle. The only attribute which might not be recognized by modern readers is the crescent moon found in Diana's hair. The kneeling couple in Book VII, and the ring of dancing cupids in the illustration of Book XIV cannot be definitely identified, but perhaps the cupids are merely suggestive of another attribute of Venus, who is standing a little in front of them.

Sandys's description of the work done by Cleyn and Savery shows his interest in the quality of the illustrations. The figures are designed "by the hand of a rare Workman, and as rarely performed, if our judgments may be led by theirs, who are Masters among us in that Facultie" ³¹ Who these masters are he never reveals, but the improved quality of the illustrations can easily be established by comparing the 1632 title page with the title pages of the 1621 and 1626 editions.

A modern art historian corroborates Sandys's comments. In her study of Rubens's decoration of the Torre de la Parada, Svetlana Alpers examines the sixty-three mythological works which Rubens painted for this hunting lodge of King Philip IV of Spain. Most of the series, which she describes as Rubens's Ovidian presentation of the gods, depicts stories from Ovid's Metamorphoses. ³² Her second chapter discusses the relationship of Rubens's sketches and the tradition of illustrated Ovids. Here, she considers Sandys's illustrations, along with those of Salomon, Franco, and others. Cleyn's designs which follow Franco's format do not imitate him: " . . . the large figures in the foreground are completely

of Cleyn's own invention while the smaller background figures are often dependent on those in the Salomon tradition."³³ Miss Alpers next assesses the quality of the engravings by comparing them with Franco's illustrations which emphasize the actual metamorphoses:

The illustrations to Sandys's edition are much more successful because the size of the page and the figures is increased, the narratives are placed in more legible landscape settings, and the incidents concentrate not on the fact of metamorphosis, but on the drama itself. An example of the superiority of the Sandys illustration is the way the two editions present the illustrations to Book Six of the Metamorphoses. The Sandys edition, unlike the earlier Italian one, presents a possible landscape setting for the actors and for the cross-sections of the buildings in which some of the actions take place. As we might expect, Franco places Arachne's transformation into a spider prominently in the left foreground, while Cleyn chooses the killing of Niobe's children. The contrast between the two artists becomes clear if we look at the way each one depicts a single story. While Franco shows Marsyas turning into a stream, Cleyn depicts the actual flaying. Or again, still looking at the engraving for Book Six, while Franco shows Tereus at the moment when Procne and Philomela have turned into birds, Cleyn shows the dramatic moment when Tereus is presented with his son's head and rises, sword in hand, overturning the table. Franco consistently depicts the metamorphoses while Cleyn, although not ignoring the metamorphoses, picks the dramatic actions which led to the metamorphoses.

Sandys's edition of Ovid often achieves its dramatic impact simply by following the text. No illustrated Ovid before this had, for example, depicted Tereus actually throwing over the table. This is also the first edition in which Deucalion and Pyrrha are explicitly shown, following Ovid, with their heads covered as they toss the rocks over their shoulders. The last thing one would expect in such crowded pages is a close attention to the relationships of the figures depicted. Time and time again, however, Sandys's Ovid surprises by such touches as the twisted figure of the dying Hyacinth with the helpless Apollo leaning over him. These engravings for Sandys's Ovid, published only four or five years before the Torre sketches, represent a parallel effort to Rubens's works. They share with Rubens an interest in the mythological narratives as human dramas.³⁴

Even though Sandys's Ovid and Rubens's works share this dramatic effect, however, the illustrations had no direct influence upon Rubens's paintings.³⁵

In the preface to the reader Sandys, by way of explaining his inclusion of the illustrations, launches into an extended comparison of poetry and painting where he praises both at the expense of neither.³⁶

He commences the passage with an indication of the emblematic role of the illustrations (the "substance" of each book has been "contracted" into the pictures) and then shifts into the comparison. First the authority of the ancients is drawn upon by citing Simonides' reference to poetry as "speaking Picture" and painting as "silent Poesie," then he praises both arts for not only being able to imitate nature but also being able to transcend it "for the better." Their antiquity is the next point he lauds; poetry was born "in the beginning of the World" and painting soon after in the "Hieroglyphicall Figures on the Aegyptian Obelisques." They appeal to the noblest of the senses, the eye and ear, to affect the understanding, and, not surprisingly, they complement each other. The best poetry describes pictures while the best paintings render "the lively Image of their Mindes as well as of their bodies." Sandys concludes this laudatory comparison by asserting that the end of both arts is to mingle delight and profit. The whole comparison forms another passage attesting to the popularity of this comparison in the literary criticism of the Renaissance.³⁷

The influence of emblematic thought and literature also appears in Sandys's commentaries. No markedly distinct division exists between those sources of Sandys which can be called emblematic literature and those which contain emblematic elements but are not emblematic literature. Natalis Comes' Mythologiae presents a nice example of the latter. Although it is not an emblem book, some editions of the work have many illustrations and often give instructions on how to represent the deities visually.³⁸ Another example of such illustrated commentaries is Cartari's Imagine Deorum, which he wrote expressly for painters and sculptors, and which naturally contains many illustrations to aid artists in their represen-

tation of the various deities and allegorical figures.³⁹ Neither work, however, is an emblem book, the former being a mythological handbook for students, and the latter a mythological handbook for artists.

But Sandys does acknowledge two emblem books, citing Pierius (Piero Valeriano di Bolzani, author of the Hieroglyphica) in his list of sources following Book I and quoting verses from Andrea Alciati's Emblematum in the commentaries. I have described these works in Chapter IV, and now must proceed to a consideration of their influence.

An exact determination of the full influence of the Hieroglyphica upon the commentaries is impossible. Although Sandys did acknowledge Valeriano after Book I, he never mentions him in the commentaries when he is using his interpretations. The nature of Valeriano's scholarship further complicates the problem. As is the case with most Renaissance mythographies, his work is a compilation: in one of his prefaces he lists over two hundred and thirty authors, ancient and modern. In addition, many of the other sources which Sandys used and which should be compared with Valeriano are not available for my present study. Nevertheless, some persuasive arguments can still be made for the influence of Valeriano on specific passages in the commentaries. Sentences which Sandys seems to have translated verbatim from the Latin of the Hieroglyphica can be pointed out and further evidence offered which suggests that Sandys went to Valeriano, not to another Renaissance mythographer, for these specific passages. While none of the evidence is completely conclusive, it can become very convincing.

Valeriano arranged his work alphabetically with the entries covering many animals, plants and most parts of the human anatomy and Sandys apparently used Valeriano to gain information on the plants into

which the various characters in Ovid had been transformed. A comparison of Valeriano's discussion of the hyacinth with Sandys's comments provides an example of this use:

Nam cum Apollo Musarum ingenij, ac literarum
Deus fit Hyacinthum puerum ab illô ob formam
adamatum, poëtae finxerunt: quia sensus
naturalis minimè corruptus puer est, hoc
est prudentia caret, sed tamen formosus est,
quia mentẽ ad sui contemplationem excitat:
qua contemplatione sit, vt tandem sensus,
iuue nili aetate atq; feruore illo deposito,
prudentiae & sapientiae florem ex se gignat,
suauissimis virtutum odoribus fragrantem:
quorum pòst memoria literarum monumentis
ad posteros manat.⁴⁰

In his commentary on Hyacinth Sandys states:

Now Apollo, the God of wit, of learning, and
the Muses, is fained to affect the young
Hyacinthus for his beauty, and after his death
to have turned him into a flower: because
the naturall understanding, when innocent
and uncorrupted, resembles a boy; that is,
wanting wisdom, yet repleat with beauty,
in that it exciteth the mind to a selfe
contemplation: whereby at length putting
the affections and fervor of youth, by his
owne vigour it produceth the flower of know-
ledge and wisdom, sweetly smelling with
the fragrant odours of Vertue; whose memory
by monumental letters is derived to posterity.⁴¹

Sandys seems to be translating directly from Valeriano, even though the possibility remains that they may both be drawing from a common source.

This possibility of an unknown common source can be reduced in other instances of Sandys's borrowings. A comparison of Sandys's commentaries on the animals mentioned in Book XV with Valeriano presents passages which not only seem to be translated from the Latin of the Hieroglyphica but also are introduced by Sandys as allegorical interpretations held by the Egyptians. Mythographers of the early seventeenth century had two major sources available on Egyptian symbolism, the

Hieroglyphica of Horapollo and Valeriano's symbolic dictionary which, while based on Horapollo, went far beyond his initial work.⁴² Since Sandys acknowledged Valeriano as one of his sources this work would seem to be the more likely source and the comparisons bear this out.

In his commentary on the hyena Sandys mentions the ancients' belief that it was androgynous, and then continues:

But by the fiction of his yearely change, the Aegyptians presented a man inconstant to himselfe, and his owne intentions, now vertuous, strong, and couragious, a subduer of his mind as well as of his body; and againe most vitious, miserably weake, and impotent in all his affections.⁴³

Horapollo's brief comment presents almost the same ideas but in a more condensed form:

The Unstable Man
When they wish to represent someone unstable and not remaining in the same state, either because of strength or weakness, they draw a hyena. For the hyena is sometimes male and sometimes female.⁴⁴

It appears as if Sandys expanded Horapollo's comments, but in between the two is Valeriano:

Instabilem verò quempiã, nihil quippe in eodem vitę tenore ac modo, quem sibi proposiusset, perseuerantê, sed aliàs quidem probum, fortem, audacemq̃ tam animi quàm corporis sui domitorem, aliàs verò improbum, inualidũ, miserumq̃, & ad cupiditates omnes impotentẽ, significare si vellent, Hyaenam itidem hieroglyphicè proponere consuerunt⁴⁵

The descriptive series of adjectives and other similar modifiers all suggest that Sandys was relying on Valeriano for his Egyptian lore.

Further proof that Sandys was borrowing from Valeriano appears in the passages where he introduces a symbolic interpretation as Egyptian.

In discussing Nyctimene's metamorphosis into a crow in Book II Sandys adds:

The Aegyptians by the Crow and the Owle
(to which this fable hath a reference)
expressed two deadly enimies, persuing one
an other with immortall hatred. For the
Crow destroyeth the egges of the Owle by day,
and the Owle the others by night; neither
want there authors who write that their
blood will not mingle. So the Owle is the
hieroglyphick of death, and the Crow of
long living.⁴⁶

The reference to the Egyptians and the use of the term "hieroglyphick" both suggest that Sandys borrowed from either Horapollo or Valeriano. Horapollo has no interpretation of either the owl or the crow but a check in the index of Valeriano's Hieroglyphica is more rewarding. Under Noctua (owl) he gives the following reference: "noctuae & cornicis immortales inimicitiae 147.d.e. 148.a." Sandys found the information for his last sentence at 147 e: "Apud Aegyptios verò Noctua mortis erat hieroglyphicũ . . . cornix vitae longioris symbolum habeatur" ⁴⁷ The passage on page 148 contains the rest of the information found in Sandys's commentary:

Si verò hostes capitali odio detrimenta &
insidias alterũ alteri sempiternis indig-
nationibus molientes, manusq̃ mutuarum
caedium sanguine commaculantes, notare vel-
lent Aegyptij sacerdotes, Noctuam & cornicem
proponere consuerunt, quarum vsqueadeò im-
mortales sunt inimicitiae, vt & haec & illa
in mutua semper damna odium exerçant:
cornix enim interdiu oua Noctuae rapit, ab-
sumitq̃, sibi conscia Noctuam interdiu
cecūtire. At Noctua contra, vti dicebamus,
noctu in oua cornicis inuadit, quae subfuretur
ac edat: sicq̃ altera interdiu, altera noctu
potentior. Quinetiam, quod ad earum inter
se temperaturã nullo modo congruentem, facit,
sunt qui exploratũ se habere dicant, confusum
vtriusq̃ sanguinem coire non posse.⁴⁸

In this case Sandys has summarized Valeriano by translating only select

phrases.

Sandys's commentary on bears provides another example. Valeriano offers this lore:

Hominem originis principio deformem, mox
 formosum effectum, sive cuius vita ineunte
 aetate dissolutior fuerit, nullaꝑ ratione
 moderata, cum aetate tamen modus & disciplina
 sanctior accreuerit. Aegyptij sacerdotes in-
 telligere cū vellēt, vrsam foetam pro
 hieroglyphico ponere consuerunt. Compertum
 siquidem est, vrsam foetum edere sine oculis,
 sine pilis, cruribusꝑ propemodum & membris
 aliis indiscretum, informem deniqꝫ carnem
 catto minorem, maiorem mure, de qua vngues
 tantū promineant, caetera sanguis concretus
 esse videatur, quem postea pectori femoribus
 apprimendo fouet eodem incubitu quo volucres
 oua, paulatimꝫ ita cōformat, & lingua sub-
 inde lambendo perfectum reddit.⁴⁹

Sandys renders a near literal translation:

By which the Aegyptians presented a man deformed
 by Nature but beautified by art; or one who
 in his first of youth is dissolute and un-
 digested in minde, but after in his riper
 yeares adorned by discipline and experience.
 For the natural historyes record that the
 birth of the Beare is without eyes, without
 haire, or distinction of members; onely having
 eminent pawes, the rest like a clot of con-
 creted blood, which the Dam broods over with
 her brest and thighs, and by little and little
 gives it shape with her tongue.⁵⁰

These passages, like the previous examples, argue that Sandys went to Valeriano for his Egyptian lore.

Sandys's use of Alciati's emblems can be more easily traced, since he usually gives the reference to Alciati when he translates the verse (none of the pictures is included in the commentaries). After surveying Alciati's collection, one would expect that Sandys's major use of the text would be for emblems treating the classical deities.⁵¹

Alciati devotes emblems to Mercury, Hercules, Prometheus, Icarus, Phaeton,

Progne, Circe and many others. Of the seven emblems that Sandys definitely used, however, only two have a classical deity as their subject. The other five emblems draw morals from such various topics as the animals mentioned in the Metamorphoses, Achilles' tomb and arms, and the strange emblem of a man whose one arm is borne aloft by wings attached to his hand while the other bears a stone which restrains his flight. Sandys presents the moral of the last emblem in the following manner. He translates two lines from Juvenal "They hardly rise unto renowne, / Whose virtues poverty weighs downe," and then continues "Represented in the Emblematist by a student with one hand raised aloft with wings, and the other suppressed by a massy stone."⁵² The emblem is Alciati's, for it appeared in both his 1531 and 1534 editions as well as later.

Sandys uses the Achilles emblems in his commentary on Ovid's account of Achilles' death and the debate over his arms (Books XII and XIII). In the emblem on Achilles' tomb Alciati states its location, and Sandys, while making a mistake in the translation, accepts Alciati's information.⁵³ Alciati proceeds to relate that a still green amaranthus grows there, which signifies that Achilles' fame will never die. This in turn draws from Sandys a completely irrelevant discussion of the symbolic associations of the amaranthus. The other emblem reveals the final fate of Achilles' armor after Odysseus' shipwreck, and Sandys translates a section of it in the commentary.⁵⁴ Neptune grasped the shield and carried it over the waves to the tomb of Ajax. The moral drawn from this is that "Though men with-hold, the gods give each their due."⁵⁵ As in the previous instance the information is hardly relevant to Ovid's poem.

Alciati's emblems on the stellion and chameleon are also employed by Sandys. When Ceres transforms a rude boy into a stellion Sandys fills a paragraph with various lore concerning this lizard, translating Alciati's poem where the stellion is described as "The Embleme of deceit and envy," and then relating a superstition that anyone will get freckles if he drinks the wine in which a stellion has died.⁵⁶ Alciati's emblem on the chameleon becomes useful to Sandys in the last book when Pythagoras lists it as one of the wonders of the animal world. At the end of a long paragraph containing a detailed physical description of the chameleon, Sandys concludes with the moral significance of the lizard, which he presents by translating Alciati's verse. The chameleon represents flattery, which feeds on "popular aire" and takes on all colors to excuse princes' black deeds.⁵⁷

The two remaining emblems which Sandys borrowed are on Proteus and Pan. Sandys's commentary on Proteus offers a fairly comprehensive range of interpretations.⁵⁸ He commences with a euhemeristic account and then gives a moral interpretation of Proteus as a wise and politic prince who shaped his passions and actions according to the occasion. Following this he translates Alciati's emblem where Proteus' shape-changing is taken to represent the uncertainty of antiquity in that no two people see the past in exactly the same way.⁵⁹ Sandys concludes his commentary with a physical interpretation of Proteus as the first matter, a standard interpretation which resembles Bacon's.⁶⁰ The commentary on Pan is much less comprehensive. Sandys devotes the greater part of it to an explanation of the symbolic associations attached to Pan's various attributes. All these explanations are in accord with the basic interpretation that Pan represents "Universal Nature." After

the detailed examination of all his attributes, Sandys relies on his translation of Alciati's verse to conclude the passage:

Men worship nature by the name of Pan
 A man halfe-goat, withall, a God halfe-man.
 Above a man, where sacred reason raignes;
 Borne in the heart and toured in the braines.
 Belowe a Goat, since nature propagates
 By coiture, in all whom life instates.
 Rough Goates, as other animals, expresse
 Ranke luxury, and brutish lusts excesse.
 Some say that wisdome governes in the heart;
 Some in the braine; none in the nether part.⁶¹

It adds little to the commentary besides the words of a popular authority.

A great deal of information as to why Sandys included these emblematic elements has come to light in the chapter. Sandys's prefatory comments to the reader are obviously germane here. In discussing his inclusion of the illustrations he concludes:

To this I was the rather induced, that so excellent a Poem might with the like Solemnity be entertained by us, as it hath beene among other Nations: rendered in so many languages, illustrated by Comments, and imbelished with Figures: withall, that I may not prove lesse gratefull to my Autor, by whose Muse I may modestly hope to be rescued from Oblivion.⁶²

The Continental tradition of illustrated Ovids initiated by Franco obviously did influence Sandys, but other facets of his culture were also indirectly conducive to the inclusion of the illustrations. The immense popularity of emblems and hieroglyphs, which grew out of the Renaissance Neo-Platonists' interest in them, the growing popularity of emblem literature and illustrated frontispieces in England, Sir John Harington's illustrations to Orlando Furioso, the court's strong interest in art collection and their interest in heroic illustrations, all these facets of Sandys's culture offer plausible motivations for his inclusion of the illustrations and lead to the conclusion that no one motive can be def-

initely established but that all these have some relevance to his decision.

The edition itself reveals emblematic influences in both the illustrations and the commentaries. The frontispiece presents the most emblematic illustration in the book, while the illustrations to the books have a suggestively similar pattern of an engraving followed by the translation of the book. In the inclusion of the emblematic frontispiece and his reliance upon Ripa for symbolic figures, Sandys reflected the practice of his time. The emblematic frontispiece became a popular device in early seventeenth-century England, and Ripa had become the standard source book for symbolic representations. In contrast to this Sandys's use of the illustrations employing perspectives for each book was fairly innovative in England, since only Harington had preceded him.

When drawing upon emblematic literature for his commentaries Sandys went to the standard sources, Alciati and Valeriano. His actual use of Alciati is comparatively insignificant, and in Valeriano's case the extent of Sandys's reliance is not as easily ascertained, but it is relevant here to note that the commentaries have very few references to Egyptian symbolism. A final comment should be made on Sandys's mythology as seen in his use of emblematic literature in the commentaries. Some students of Sandys have attempted with little success to re-categorize Sandys's commentaries from his original divisions of the philosophical and historical sense of the fables. Sandys did not have his commentaries or his study of myth highly organized. For him the "Philosophicall sense" of the fables included information ranging from "the wonderfull workes of nature" (natural history) to "noble examples with an honest emulation, and leading, as it were, by the hand to the Temple of Honour

and Vertue" (moral interpretation).⁶³ His use of emblematic literature reveals what a general reading of the commentaries will also show, that his approach is encyclopedic with no significant attempt to make a consistent interpretation of the myths. Sandys resembles the mythographers whom Daniel described as "so unfaithful to themselves as they have left us no certain way at all, but a tract of confusion to take our course at adventure."⁶⁴

NOTES

¹Biblia Pauperum, facsimile edition.

²Hind, Engraving in England, II, 239; and Bland, History of Book Illustration, 182.

³Modern discussions of Cleyn and his work can be found in Millar and Whinney, English Art 1625-1714, 125-27; Croft-Murray, Decorative Painting in England, I, 38-39, 196b-98a.

⁴Fuller records this letter in his Worthies of England, III, 201-02.

⁵Croft-Murray, Decorative Painting in England, I, 196-97.

⁶Millar and Whinney, English Art 1625-1714, 127.

⁷Croft-Murray, Decorative Painting in England, I, 197-98.

⁸Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting in England, II, 228.

⁹Akrigg, Jacobean Pageant, 276.

¹⁰Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting in England, II, 228.

¹¹Dictionary of National Biography, IV, 483.

¹²Croft-Murray, Decorative Painting in England, I, 261.

¹³Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, III, 100.

¹⁴Davis notes that "An engraved title-page strikingly similar to the 1632 is to be found in Les Metamorphoses d'Ovide Traduites en Prose Francoise, et de nouveau soigneusement reueues, corrigees en infinis endroits, et enrichie [s?] de figures a chacune Fable. Avec XV. Discours Contenant l'Explication Morale et Historique . . . 1619, Pour l'Autheur, A Paris . . . Avec priuilege du Roy." I have not yet seen this text and therefore cannot comment on its iconography. Davis, George Sandys, 205, n. 27.

¹⁵Nicoll, Stuart Masques, 44.

¹⁶Daniel, Tethys Festival, reprinted in Nichols, Progresses, II, 349.

¹⁷Jones, Festival Designs, illus. 61, 69, 70.

¹⁸Jonson, Works, VII, 453.

¹⁹Allen, Mysteriously Meant, 190.

²⁰Don Cameron Allen misinterprets this scene (Mysteriously Meant, 191) when he states that it represents Ulysses restoring his men to human shape. If the picture is closely studied and the relevant passage in Sandys's translation is read (Bk. XIV, 627-28) his error becomes obvious. Circe has the men drink from the cup only when she is transforming them from humans to swine. There is also no suggestion of any of the events which occur when the men are restored to their human form. Ulysses is not present with his sword drawn nor is there any sign of the moly, and the men are not joyously embracing their commander.

²¹Allen (Mysteriously Meant, 190-91) has only translated part of the motto, ignoring the last half of the compound sentence and the phrase "Docuit Quae." (All Latin translations are mine unless otherwise stated.)

²²Sandys, Metamorphosis, 2.

²³L'Art religieux-apres le concile de Trente (1932), chap. IX; cited from Seznec, Survival of the Pagan Gods, 278. The less specific association of Jupiter, Juno, Neptune, and Ceres with each of the four elements was a Renaissance commonplace. Here is Abraham Fraunce discussing these associations: "Jupiter, Juno, Neptune, Ceres with the rest, are therefore called Gods and goddesses, for that in the superior and fierie region of the ayre noted by Jupiter, in the inferior, represented by Juno, in the bowells of the earth figured by Ceres, in the deapth of the Seaes, shadowed by Neptune . . ." (Third Part of the Countesse of Pem-

brokes Yvychurch, B2r). Fraunce drew his information from the second of Leo Hebraeus' three Dialoghi d'Amore. I am indebted to Peter Saccio's Court Comedies of John Lyly (109-112) where he discusses Fraunce and Leo.

²⁴Ripa, Iconologia, 121, or H3r. My quotations are from a photocopy of Ripa's 1603 edition which the library at Duke University kindly sent. Professor E. D. Blodgett generously translated the Italian.

²⁵Ibid., 120, or H2v.

²⁶Ibid., 122, or H3v; 123, or H4r.

²⁷Horace, "Ars Poetica," in Opera, l. 343; translation by Smith Palmer Bovie, The Satires and Epistles of Horace, 285.

²⁸Earle, Microcosmography, 20; Peacham, Compleat Gentleman, 104-124.

²⁹Sandys, Metamorphosis, 491, 114, 425.

³⁰Ibid., 13.

³¹Ibid., 9.

³²Alpers, Decoration of Torre De La Parada, 78.

³³Ibid., 92.

³⁴Ibid., 92-93.

³⁵Ibid., 96.

³⁶All the quotations in the following summary are from Sandys Metamorphosis, 9-10.

³⁷For an extensive discussion of this concept see Hagstrum, The Sister Arts.

³⁸See for example the illustration of Juno in Comes, Mythologiae, I2v.

³⁹See for example Cartari's Le vere e nove de gli dei delli antichi, Lr, L3r, L4r, Mr.

⁴⁰Valeriano, Hieroglyphica, 440r.

⁴¹Sandys, Metamorphosis, 482.

⁴²In addition to this there was a certain amount of classical lore on the Egyptians but this was not so easily accessible. The following examples make a persuasive case for my argument that Sandys relied on Valeriano.

⁴³Sandys, Metamorphosis, 707.

⁴⁴Boas, Hieroglyphics, 100, no. 69. This translation is based on a 1727 edition and I have not been able to examine an earlier edition.

⁴⁵Valeriano, Hieroglyphica, 83r.

⁴⁶Sandys, Metamorphosis, 116.

⁴⁷Valeriano, Hieroglyphica, 147v.

⁴⁸Ibid., 148r.

⁴⁹Ibid., 85v.

⁵⁰Sandys, Metamorphosis, 705. Compare also the commentary on Dryope (Sandys, 441) with Valeriano, 384v.

⁵¹In discussing Alciati I have relied upon Henry Green's facsimile edition of Alciati, Andreae Alciati Emblematum Fontes Quatuor. In light of the large number of editions of Alciati and the meager evidence I possess for distinguishing between them it would be impossible to determine which edition Sandys relied upon.

⁵²Sandys, Metamorphosis, 218. The emblem may be found in Andreae Alciati Emblematum Fontes Quatuor, 1531 ed., A7v; and 1534 ed., 19.

⁵³Andreae Alciati Emblematum Fontes Quatuor, 1546 ed., 11r. Sandys, Metamorphosis, 568.

⁵⁴Andreae Alciati Emblematum Fontes Quatuor, 1531 ed., B8r-v; and 1534 ed., 42.

⁵⁵Sandys, Metamorphosis, 604.

⁵⁶Sandys, Metamorphosis, 255; Andreae Alciati Emblematum Fontes Quatuor, 1546 ed., 7r.

⁵⁷Sandys, Metamorphosis, 708; Andreae Alciati Emblematum Fontes Quatuor, 1531 ed., E4r-v; and 1534 ed., 93.

⁵⁸Sandys, Metamorphosis, 395.

⁵⁹Andreae Alciati Emblematum Fontes Quatuor, 1534 ed., 252; and 1546 ed., 6r.

⁶⁰Hunter, "The Influence of Francis Bacon . . . ," 114.

⁶¹Sandys, Metamorphosis, 658-59; Andreae Alciati Emblematum Fontes Quatuor, 1546 ed., 4lv.

⁶²Sandys, Metamorphosis, 10.

⁶³Ibid., 8.

⁶⁴Daniel, The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses, in Book of Masques, 26.

CHAPTER VI

THE USE AND INFLUENCE OF SANDYS'S METAMORPHOSIS

Sandys's deluxe edition of 1632 doubtlessly rivaled its Continental predecessors and made a fine addition to many private English libraries, but what were its other uses? Scholars could use the commentaries, yet most of that information was already available to them in the Latin sources from which Sandys had drawn it. Sandys's mythography was, for the greater part, commonplace rather than any significant advance in the study of myth (compare Sandys's work with the more original contribution of Selden's De Dis Syris in 1617). If, moreover, during the period when Sandys translated Ovid " . . . the two languages, or the two kinds of languages, the ancient and the vernacular, were present in the minds of most well-educated people in relations of almost exact balance and equality . . ." his work was superfluous for the well-educated.¹ Sandys, then, prepared his Ovid for a reading public which either had no Latin or had not yet fully mastered Latin (the commentary as well as the poem is for the greater part a translation). Such a reading public would be composed of the poorly educated section of the nobility, the upwardly mobile middle class, and grammar school students. The students would comprise a large segment of this reading public and the two different editions of Sandys's book would both be useful in schools. The folio editions would make excellent reference books in the school library for students who had not yet been introduced to the

Continental mythographers. The moral intent which Sandys states in the preface to the reader, ". . . it should be the principall end in publishing of Bookes, to informe the understanding, direct the will and temper the affections . . . ," would also meet with the approval of school teachers.² The illustrations must have appealed to Charles Hoole, the London schoolmaster (who recommended Sandys's Ovid in a book on school teaching), for in 1659 he also published his translation of Comenius's Orbis Pictus, a book which stressed the use of pictures for teaching children. Later Pope himself recalled the youthful fascination he found in Ogilby's illustrated edition of Homer and Sandys's Ovid.³ The smaller editions of Sandys's translation, which were without commentaries and illustrations, would greatly aid the student who was making his first attempts at translating Ovid. All these attractions contributed to the popularity of Sandys's Ovid among seventeenth-century school teachers.

Conclusive evidence of the use of Sandys's Ovid in the grammar schools of this period is easily presented, but the implication of such a use must not be overlooked. T. W. Baldwin has shown the immense influence which Shakespeare's schooling had upon his drama in William Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke, and Donald Clark has shown the influence of St. Paul's School on Milton. Although Sandys's translation was just one book used in seventeenth-century grammar schools, it was the textbook for the two greatest poets of the next age. Dryden read it as a youth, and Pope used it as one of his schoolbooks, yet, of course, Sandys was not read by just these two great poets alone. Students in grammar schools and aspiring young gentlemen read Sandys to learn Latin. Both educated ladies and virtuosi attending university

in order to gain a "gentleman's" education took up Sandys's Ovid for their pleasure and knowledge. This large group of readers placed Sandys's Ovid in a position where it could have a large influence upon the reading public of the Restoration. Geoffrey Tillotson has, in fact, singled out Sandys's Ovid as a major influence upon the formation of eighteenth-century poetic diction. Tillotson's passing observation can be questioned, for he offers little reason for selecting Sandys. A study of the use of Sandys's edition establishes how his Ovid, through its unique position within the educational process of the grammar schools, had such a strong influence upon later poetic diction.

Some valuable inferences about the use of Sandys's translation can be drawn from comments by Neo-classical critics and from Sandys's preface to the reader. In the preface to Examen Poeticum, Dryden severely criticizes literal translation and Sandys's Ovid, and then adds: "But this proceeded from the wrong judgment of the age in which he lived. They neither knew good verse, nor loved it; they were scholars, 'tis true, but they were pedants; and for a just reward of their pedantic pains, all their translations want to be translated into English."⁴ Samuel Johnson offers two alternate reasons for the popularity of literal translation in Ben Jonson's age, the second suggesting an attitude similar to Dryden's: " . . . and whether it be that more men have learning than genius, or that the endeavours of that time were more directed towards knowledge than delight, the accuracy of Johnson found more imitators than the elegance of Fairfax" ⁵ These retrospective comments place emphasis on the scholarly interest in an accurate translation. Regardless of Sandys's intentions, his literal quality (especially after Golding's expansions) would make

his translation a useful textbook for introducing the student to Ovid's Latin. This use of literal translations within the schools became so common that later ages identified literal translations as schoolbooks.

The common eighteenth-century attitude towards literal translations is summarized by John Draper:

To the Neo-classical translator, even the pretence of strict verbal fidelity was almost unknown, except in the case of translations intended to help the student prepare his daily lesson. Indeed the Monthly took it for granted that Smart's Horace, since it claimed to be "almost verbatim", must therefore be considered only in the light of a school book; and it maintained a similar stand in reviewing his Fables of Phaedrus a dozen years later. Many translations condescendingly admit that they were prepared to help the linguistic struggles of the "Unlearned Reader". Senhouse did his Satires of Persius "to instruct the youth in so obscure and difficult an author". He refused "to defend the Usefulness of translations" against "those opinionated Blades, on whom Reason loses its Force, and Argument recoils without Entrance". Tasso's Aminta published at Oxford in 1731 was translated "designedly for the Benefit of those who are desirous of learning that fine Language."⁶

Literal translations were, then, commonly regarded as textbooks, but Sandys intended his work to be more than just a textbook.

He prepared his lavish 1632 folio as a sumptuous scholarly edition to rival the elaborately prepared editions of Ovid on the Continent. Sandys states this in explaining the addition of the illustrations:

To this I was the rather induced, that so excellent a Poem might with the like Solemnity be entertained by us, as it hath beene among other Nations: rendred in so many languages, illustrated by Comments, and imbelished with Figures: withall, that I may not prove lesse gratefull to my Autor, by whose Muse I may modestly hope to be rescued from Oblivion.⁷

Sandys certainly intended his 1632 folio edition to be a more scholarly work than the 1626 translation, but not just a scholarly work, as his comments in the preface "To The Reader" reveal: " . . . if my Intentions faile not, the matter and delivery is so tempred, that the ordinary

Reader need not reject it as too difficult, nor the learned as too obvious."⁸ Later he adds another illuminating comment:

I have also added Marginall notes for illustration and ease of the meere English Reader, [that is, someone who knew little or no Latin] since divers places in our Author are otherwise impossible to be understood but by those who are well versed in the ancient Poets and Historians; withall to avoid the confusion of names which are given to one Person, derived from his Ancestors, Country, Quality, or Achievements.⁹

Sandys, then, intended the work to be both a scholarly edition to rival the Continental efforts and a translation with commentary for the "ordinary" or "meere English Reader." The latter proved the larger market, for all the editions after 1640 were small duodecimos without commentaries or illustrations.

A seventeenth-century student would have two obvious uses for Sandys's translation. The annotations in the 1632 and 1640 editions provided him with a contemporary Christian interpretation of the pagan myths, and all the editions after 1640 gave the student a good, literal translation to aid him in his translating Ovid.

A student in a seventeenth-century grammar school inevitably encountered the task of translating the Metamorphoses, for it had an established role in the curriculum. T. W. Baldwin's exhaustive survey of grammar school curricula in William Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke provides ample proof of the popularity of the Metamorphoses as a text. Baldwin offers, in summary, the following list of Latin poets used for the teaching of Latin verse in the sixteenth century:

Here is the time-honored poetic grounding of grammar school. As we have already seen, in the first half of the [16th] century, after Terence the boys had moralized the Bucolics of Virgil and probably the Georgics. But they deferred Ovid till they took up versification. Then they added Virgil's Aeneid and Horace to complete their basic training. In the second half of the century, the Bucolics of Mantuan usually supplanted or preceded the Bucolica of his fellow Mantuan

Virgil, and might be accompanied by the Zodiacus Vitae of Palingenius, or by the pious works of other equally godly modern poets. Ovid still occupied the place of honor along with versification, the specific works most frequently required from Ovid being De Tristibus and Metamorphoses, though Fasti, De Ponto, and Epistolae Heroidum are also mentioned.¹⁰

John Brinsley, schoolmaster at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, recorded the role of Ovid's verse in grammar schools of the early seventeenth century. In his Ludus Literarius: or the Grammar Schoole (1612) he presents his technique of teaching Latin verse. As a pre-requisite he insists that the students " . . . have read some poetry first; as at least these books or the like, or some part of them: viz. Ovid de Tristibus, or de Ponto, some peece of his Metamorphosis, or of Virgil, and be well acquainted with their Poeticall phrases."¹¹ When the students are well acquainted with these poets, Brinsley begins to teach them how to imitate their styles. Taking passages from Ovid found in a Flores Poetarum, the teacher reads it to the students, having them write down the English. They next translate it into grammatically correct Latin, then into Latin verse, and finally compare their verse with Ovid's original.¹² Once this is done, further exercises in imitation are assigned, but this suffices to suggest the prevalence of the Metamorphoses among the works which Elizabethan and Jacobean students industriously translated.

Charles Hoole's A New Discovery of the old Art of Teaching Schoole has more relevance to this study than Brinsley's because of its dates of composition and publication, and because of Hoole's recommendation of "Sandys Ovid" as a text for the fourth form.¹³ Hoole (1609-1667), described by Anthony Wood as "a good Latinist, Grecian and Hebritian, and admirably skill'd in classical learning,"

was a teacher and the author of several textbooks.¹⁴ His most famous contribution to English education was a 1659 translation of Comenius's Orbis Pictus. After beginning his teaching career at Rotherham in Yorkshire, he taught in two grammar schools in London where, according to Wood, " . . . the generality of the youth were instructed to a miracle."¹⁵

A New Discovery appeared in 1660, quite late in his career, and the work had the full benefit of his previous teaching experience. It was, as Hoole states: "Written about Twenty three yeares ago, for the Benefit of Rotherham School, where it was first used; and after 14 years trial by diligent practise in London in many particulars enlarged, and now at last published for the general profit, especially of young Schoole-Masters."¹⁶ The book, then, presents teaching practices employed during the reign of King Charles I and the Interregnum. It grew out of the experience which Hoole gained before and during the Civil Wars, and was published for the direction of Restoration schoolmasters.

In his treatise Hoole assigns the Metamorphoses to the students in the fourth form:

To enable your Scholars yet more to write good Latine in prose, and to prepare them further for verses by reading Poetical books, which abound with rich expressions of fansie, I would have them spend the next halfe year in Ovids Metamorphosis; out of which Authour you may make choice of the most pleasing and profitable Arguments, which it is best for you your self to construe and explain unto them, that they may dispatch the more at a Lesson, and with more ease.¹⁷

The students, then, memorize passages, parse the sentences, give the tropes and figures, and finally translate the Latin. In the fifth form Ovid is one of the texts suggested as sources for "Apologues and Fables" which the student is to extract and record in his common-place book.¹⁸

Addison records the effect of all this schoolwork in an essay

attacking the use of pagan fables in poetry:

Many of our Modern Authors, whose Learning very often extends no farther than Ovid's Metamorphosis, do not know how to celebrate a Great Man, without mixing a parcel of School-boy Tales with the Recital of his Actions. If you read a Poem on a fine Woman, among the Authors of this Class, you shall see that it turns more upon Venus or Helen, than on the Party concerned. I have known a Copy of Verses on a great Hero highly commended, but upon asking to hear some of the beautiful passages, the Admirer of it has repeated to me a Speech of Apollo, or a Description of Polypheme. At other times when I have searched for the Actions of a Great Man, who gave a Subject to the Writer, I have been entertained with the Exploits of a River-God, or have been forced to attend a Fury in her mischievous Progress, from one end of the Poem to the other. When we are at School it is necessary for us to be acquainted with the System of Pagan Theology, and may be allowed to enliven a Theme, or point an Epigram with an Heathen God; but when we would write a manly Panegyrick, that should carry in it all the Colours of Truth, nothing can be more ridiculous than to have recourse to our Jupiter's and Juno's.¹⁹

The Restoration attack upon the use of myth in poetry occurred too late to affect Hoole's book. He was one of the Masters who taught the use of mythological allusions in a young gentleman's poems.

Previously, in the fourth form, while the students are still working on Ovid's De Tristibus and have not yet advanced to the Metamorphoses, Hoole advises the master to try the young students' inclination towards poetry:

. . . you may therefore let them learn to compose English verses, and to inure them so to do, you should 1. Let them procure some pretty delightful and honest English Poems, by perusal whereof they may become acquainted with the Harmony of English Poesie. Mr. Hardwicks late translation of Mantuan, Mr. Sandys of Ovid, Mr. Ogleby's of Virgil, will abundantly supply them with Heroick Verses²⁰

By the time the students begin translating the Metamorphoses, they have already read some of Sandys's translation and, no doubt, rely on Sandys in their initial attempts to translate Ovid. When they do begin, Hoole, by specifying the folio edition, recommends the use of Sandys's commentaries:

Mr. Sandys's Translation of this book, in Folio, and Mr. Rosse's English Mythologist, will be very delightfull helps to your Scholars for the better understanding thereof; and if to these you adde Sir Francis Bacon's little book de Sapientia veterum, Natales comes, and Verderius's Imagines Deorum, Lexicon Geographicum, Poeticum, & Historicum; and the like sitting to be reserved for your Scholars use in the Schoole-librarie it will invite them like so many bees to busie themselves sucking up matter and words to quicken their invention and expression²¹

The necessity of mythographical commentaries for Ovid grew out of the earlier humanists' concern with the dangers of teaching pagan myths. Vives in De Tradendis Disciplinis (1531) presents this view in detail:

Let the scholar begin the reading of the heathen, as though entering upon poisonous fields, armed with an antidote, with the consciousness that men are united to God by means of the reverence which has been given them by Him; that what men think out for themselves is full of errors; that whatever is opposed to piety, has sprung from man's emptiness and the deceits of his most crafty enemy, the devil; this will be generally sufficient without further explanation. Let the scholar remember that he is wandering amongst the heathen, that is, amongst thorns, poisons, aconite, and most threatening pestilences, that he is to take from them only what is useful, and to throw aside the rest, all of which they are neither to carefully examine themselves nor is the teacher to attempt to explain that which is hurtful to them.²²

For teaching Ovid he advises that "The teacher should expound the fables of the Metamorphoses of Ovid . . . for the better knowledge of mythology."²³

Sir Thomas Elyot after initially favoring the use of Ovid as a text, rejects this idea and follows Vives' approach:

I would set next unto him two books of Ovid, the one called Metamorphosis, which is as much to say as changing of men into other figure or form; the other is entitled De Fastis, where the ceremonies of the Gentiles, and specially the Romans, be expressed: both right necessary for the understanding of other poets. But because there is little other learning in them concerning either virtuous manners of policy, I suppose it were better that as fables and ceremonies happen to come in a lesson, it were declared abundantly by the master than that in the said two books a long time should be spent and almost lost: which might be better employed on such authors that do minister both eloquence, civil policy, and exhortation to virtue. Wherefore in his place let us bring in Horace, in whom is contained much variety of learning and quickness of sentence.²⁴

In spite of this disapproval of Ovid, the Metamorphoses, as Baldwin's

research reveals, was widely used as a text.

William Webbe in A Discourse of English Poetrie (1586) offers the defense of Ovid which was traditionally employed to justify the study of classical myth when it was attacked for teaching pagan beliefs: "The worke of greatest profitte which he wrote was his Booke of Metamorphosis, which though it consisted of fayned Fables for the most part, and poetickall inventions, yet beeing moralized according to his meaning, and the trueth of every tale beeing discovered, it is a worke of exceeding wysedome and sounde judgement."²⁵ The Metamorphoses, if correctly understood (that is, if given a Christian, allegorical interpretation) became a work containing valuable moral insights.

Hoole must have known that the Metamorphoses was open to criticism for teaching the students heathen beliefs, and, therefore, he stipulated that the master should "construe and explain" unto the students the "most pleasing and profitable Arguments" to be found in the text. He also included Sandys's commentaries (along with other mythographical works) in the school library to guide the students in their studies. For the master of a grammar school, Sandys's work was especially valuable as the only extended English commentary on Ovid. It had a Christian perspective on the myths, and, being both eclectic and in English, it was more readily accessible to the students than the lengthy Latin works of the Continental mythographers.

Since Hoole approved of the students' use of English translations in their efforts to translate (he recommended Ogilby's Aeneid to the students in their first attempts to master Virgil), it is likely that the fourth-form students spent far more time with the text of Sandys's translation than with the commentaries.²⁶ Biographical and autobiogra-

phical comments by various authors suggest that Sandys's text was commonly used in this manner.

John Aubrey (1627-1697), at the age of twelve, was sent to William Sutton's Blandford School in Dorset where he began to learn Latin under the usher, Thomas Stephens. In an autobiographical sketch he describes how he acquired the language at Blandford:

Here I recovered my health, and gott my Latin and Greeke, best of any of my contemporaries. The usher had (by chance) a Cowper's Dictionary, which I had never seen before. I was then in Terence. Perceiving his method, I read all in the booke where Terence was, and then Cicero--- which was the way by which I gott my Latin. 'Twas a wonderfull helpe to my phansie, my reading of Ovid's Metamorph in English by Sandys, which made me understand the Latin the better.²⁷

Since Aubrey acquired his Latin with the aid of Sandys in 1638, long before Hoole published his treatise (Hoole's observations, he repeatedly informs us, were based on past experience), the use of Sandys in the schools preceded Hoole's recommendations.

Aubrey retained his favorable impression of Sandys's work for the rest of his life. In 1669 he began preparing an essay on education entitled the Idea of Education.²⁸ In his essay, Aubrey set out all the plans for a grammar school from a theory of education and the organization of the school to the course work, and Sandys's Ovid is recommended for several different uses. To prepare children for grammar school, he has them read Commenius's Janua Linguarum in English " . . . with little pictures which will leave a strong impression and serve for local memory" ²⁹ Further on in the same paragraph, he adds:

Also, while they do learn to read, or before they read the Janua, I would like them to read Mr. George Sandys' translation of the psalms, or other English poetry, as his Ovid's Metamorphoses: the verses do trammel them, and tune their ears; and then after a little while they will stop as true and read truly and not endure a false word. This I do know by the experience of friends' children of mine.³⁰

Later, when the children enter the first class at age ten, Aubrey uses Sandys's Ovid again: "To exercise and improve their memories let 'em read, for example in the first class, Ovid's Metamorphoses translated by Mr. G. Sandys in their respective classes a quarter or half an hour."³¹ In the second class, when they have acquired some Latin grammar, Ovid is the first Latin poet which they read. Aubrey introduces the students to the Metamorphoses in this manner: "Consider whether it would not be a good way to let him read it first in Mr. G. Sandys' translation, to make the better idea, and to draw him on with the greater delight."³² When the students are in the third class at age twelve, Aubrey recommends Petrarch's De Remediis utriusque Fortunae and Ovid's Metamorphoses to "furnish them with matter and similes for their chrias."³³ (Chrias were short sentences containing worthy precepts and exhortations to students to be of good behaviour.)³⁴

The influence of Sandys's Ovid would not cease at the end of the third class. While discussing the teaching of English grammar Aubrey mentions an additional use for the Metamorphoses:

Sir Henry Wotton says somewhere, jestingly, that verse is the best way of writing next to prose, and it is certain that too much reading of the poets spoils a good prose style. For which reason I would have them meddle as little with the poets as is possible. But Ovid's Metamorphoses and Homer they should be very perfect in (and no other Greek or Latin) for the delight and delicacy of their fancy and the lively descriptions which they should imitate in tasks sometimes; but these tasks to be in English blank verse as in Mr. John Milton's Paradise.³⁵

In the margin beside this passage Aubrey added this note: "Ovid's Metamorphoses, translated by G. Sandys: this will please their tender fancies and insensibly lull them asleep into the love of reading."³⁶ Aubrey's recommendation of the use of Sandys's Ovid in the composition of English verse has similarities with Addison's recollections of the influence the

Metamorphoses had in Restoration grammar schools. Within Aubrey's scheme, then, Sandys's Ovid would influence the student from his earliest attempts to read English through his introduction to Latin verse and finally, in his own compositions in English verse.

Another more famous contemporary of Aubrey offers an aside which suggests that he too used Sandys to learn Latin. John Dryden (1631-1700), in delivering his judgement of the quality of Sandys's translation in the 1693 dedication of Examen Poeticum, adds this qualification: "This is at least the idea which I have remaining of his translation; for I never read him since I was a boy."³⁷

Alexander Pope (1688-1744) also read Sandys at an early age, for although he lacked extensive school education, he acquired an early interest in the classical poets. Spence's Anecdotes offer some evidence of the role which Sandys's translation played in Pope's education:

Ogilby's translation of Homer was one of the first large poems that ever Mr. Pope read, and he still spoke of the pleasure it then gave him, with a sort of rapture only in reflecting on it. "It was that great edition with pictures. I was then about eight years old. This led me to Sandys's Ovid, which I liked extremely, and so I did a translation of part of Statius by some very bad hand."³⁸

Pope's brief formal education began at this age and it is not surprising that his reading of Ogilby and Sandys coincides with his first education under a priest named Banister, who "set out with the design of teaching him Latin and Greek together."³⁹ Pope, however, felt that he learned very little of foreign languages at this age and regarded his years at Windsor Forest between the ages of twelve and twenty as the period when he acquired them: "Considering how very little I had when I came from school, I think I may be said to have taught myself Latin as well as French or Greek, and in all three my chief way of getting them was by

translation."⁴⁰ He gives a more detailed description of his method in another comment: "I did not follow the grammar, but rather hunted in the authors for a syntax of my own, and then began translating any parts that pleased me particularly in the best Greek and Latin poets."⁴¹ At Windsor Forest " . . . some of his first exercises were imitations of the stories that pleased him most in Ovid, or any other poet that he was reading."⁴² In his own words he asserts that he "translated above a quarter of the Metamorphoses," and his published Ovidian translations were advertised as " . . . selected from many others done by the Author in his Youth; for the most part indeed but a sort of Exercises, while he was improving himself in the Languages"⁴³ In preparing a modern edition of Pope's juvenile translations from the Metamorphoses, the editors, E. Audra and Aubrey Williams, conclude that, "For this translation Pope, as the notes to this edition show, studied closely the version of two great predecessors, Sandys and Dryden."⁴⁴ Thus, although there is no concrete proof that Pope used Sandys's translation in learning to translate the Latin, there is reason to suppose that he did. He read Sandys's translation when he first began Latin, and he relied on Sandys in his juvenile translations of Ovid. Pope's use of Sandys in his education does not directly reflect the influence of Hoole's advice upon the grammar schools, for his education was not entirely representative because of his ill health and Roman Catholicism, but his biographical comments along with Dryden's and Aubrey's, and Hoole's advice to teachers, all lead to the conclusion that Sandys's translation had widespread use as a textbook in seventeenth-century grammar schools.

Sandys's text also influenced the grammar schools in other more

indirect ways. In 1658 John Jones published an octavo translation entitled Ovid's Invective or Curse against Ibis . . . the Histories therein contained, being . . . briefly explained, one by one; With Natural, Moral, Political, Mathematical, and some few Theological Applications . . . On the title page Jones introduces himself as "M. A. Teacher of a private School in the City of Hereford," and describes his work as "Both pleasant and profitable for each Sex and Age, and very useful for Grammar Schools."⁴⁵ In his preface "To The Reader" he elaborates on the uses:

Hence may Scholars, under the Ferula, find help for composing of a theme, both in Prose and Verse. Hence may young Gentlemen find help for discourse in History and Poetry. Hence may the Aged if learned, recal to memory what they read in youth; if otherwise, they are not so old but they may hence learn somewhat.⁴⁶

In his explanations of the histories Jones' marginal references frequently cite Sandys's Ovid as the source of his information. Sandys's Ovid, along with the rest of his works, also became a source for Joshua Poole's The English Parnassus: Or a Help to English Poesie. Poole, the head of a private school at Hadley, likened his work to a "Thesaurus Poeticus in Latine." The volume contained three lists entitled "rhyme words," "choice epithets," and "phrases," from which the young student could select his poetic flowers.⁴⁷

The use of Sandys's translation was not, of course, limited to the grammar schools. Hoole suggests another segment of society which employed Sandys's translation in its efforts to learn Latin. After describing the usher's duty in the third form, he digresses for several pages before continuing with the master's method in the fourth form:

" . . . I shall next adde somewhat concerning teaching men at spare hours in private"⁴⁸ Additional comments reveal more about the circum-

stances of these young men who wished to acquire Latin:

And what I shall here deliver is confirmed by that experiment which I have made with many young Gentlemen, for these eleven or twelve years together last past, in London; who being very sensible of their own want of the Latine tongue and desirous (if possibly) to attain it, have thought no cost nor pains too little to be employed for gaining of it . . . and this they have obtained at leisure time, and at far lesse expense, then they now prize the jewel at, which they hav⁴⁹

For these young gentlemen of London who were so eager to learn Latin, Hoole offers a condensed course in which they advance from the Latin Testament through several textbooks to Aesop's Fables and Terence. He then leaves the choice of author up to the gentleman: "Whether he will read Tully, Pliny, Seneca, or Lipsius for Epistles. Justin, Salust, Lucius Florus, or Caesar for History. Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, or Horace for Poetry."⁵⁰ Recommendation of Cooper's Dictionary "and good Commentaries, or Scholiasts" follows; Hoole then concludes his list with this advice: "These Authors which I have mentioned, are most of them in English; as also Livie, Plinies natural History, Tacitus, and other excellent Books, which he may peruse together with the Latine, and by comparing both Languages together, he may become very expert in both."⁵¹ Since Hoole recommends Sandys's translation of Ovid in a prefatory list and elsewhere in the book, the young gentleman who was desirous of acquiring Latin would probably also be introduced to Ovid by way of Sandys's translation.

The aristocratic young gentleman attending university, who was well above Hoole's gentlemen students on the social scale, also had Sandys's works recommended to him. Of the few records of the tutors' methods in seventeenth-century Oxford or Cambridge which have survived, one of the best is Richard Holdsworth's. Holdsworth, who as "4th Master of Emmanuel College, a good Churchman, good scholar and loyal man, lost

his M[aster]ship 1643 for not taking the Covenant," prepared a set of instructions for his students which provides the only detailed, extant reading list followed by university students.⁵² In his "Directions for a Student in the Universitie" he set out a thorough, comprehensive course of study for students intending to pursue a degree and to become scholars, as well as a reading list for young gentlemen at the university who were not seeking a degree. To those students in the formal program, he recommended Ovid because "The end of reading Ovid's *Metamorphosis* is to acquaint you with all the fables and mythology of the poets, which afford invention for themes, verses and orations"⁵³ It was, undoubtedly, the original Latin which they were to read, but it is the opposite case in the second list. Holdsworth stated that he had drawn this list up specifically for men who had " . . . come to the university not with intention to make scholarship their profession, but only to get such learning as may serve for delight and ornament and such as the want whereof would speak a defect in breeding rather than scholarship."⁵⁴ The list contains some forty-odd books which could be classified under the headings of natural philosophy, modern history, classical history and literature in translation, post-classical Latin literature, English literature, modern languages, travel and geography, practical morality and divinity, manners and courtesy, and heraldry. Holdsworth recommended Sandys's A Relation of a Journey and, more important, he particularly mentioned Sandys's translation of the Metamorphoses among the Latin works to be read in English.⁵⁵ Some indication of the influence of Holdsworth's "Directions" can be found in another manuscript in Emmanuel College which dates from the early eighteenth century. The unknown author of this manuscript acknowledges the source for the major part of

this more elaborate set of instructions in these words: "In all things order and method are convenient and useful . . . which will appear more fully by the following discourse; which I must tell the reader is the substance of a MS now in my hands, and which I intend for the Library of Emmanuel College, it being the work, as I am credibly informed of the Reverend Richard Holdsworth, Dr. in Divinity. IV Master of Emmanuel College" ⁵⁶ Sandys, then, was still being recommended to Cambridge students at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Another group of readers who relied on Sandys appears in Nathaniel Whiting's "Il Insonio Insonnadado" and in George Wither's Great Assises. Whiting concludes a brief summary of the Metamorphoses with the following parenthetical comment to his readers:

(My lady readers I refer to Sandys,
But the grave learned unto Ovid's hands.) ⁵⁷

In the Great Assises Wither's character Apollo makes a similar comment in his satiric defense of Sandys and Sylvester:

Besides, wee are inclin'd by some respects,
Challeng'd from us by the infirmer sex,
These writers of Parnassus to support,
To please the fancy of that female sort,
Whom want of these translations might spurre on,
For to acquire, and get more tongues then one:
Which if they should accomplish, men might rue
Those mischiefs which would thereupon ensue. ⁵⁸

Leaving aside the humor, Wither's main point still remains: that most women of the age relied on translations for their knowledge of the classics. Some substantiation of this can be found in various historical records. In 1635 Sir Humphrey Mildmay, who had a copy of Sandys's translation, notes that he lent Ovid's Metamorphoses to Mrs. James. ⁵⁹ Dorothy Osborne (1627-1695), when writing to her future husband, William Temple, in 1654, mentions how much the Baucis and Philemon episode in Ovid pleases her. ⁶⁰

The modern editor of her letters notes that her own copy of Sandys's translation still survives with the inscriptions "D Osborne" at the top of the title page and "From the Author" at the bottom in another hand.⁶¹ Another contemporary, Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle (1623-1673), in her Sociable Letters offers critical comments on various aspects of Ovid's Metamorphoses, including his style: "I cannot Perceive in the Translation, but that Ovid is fully as Copious, Significant, Sweet, Eloquent, and Illustrious, as Virgil, I cannot tell what it is in Latin."⁶² By her own admission she read Ovid in translation, and one of her modern biographers states that she knew him only in the translation of Sandys.⁶³

Women, young gentlemen at university, young gentlemen of London who wished to acquire Latin, and grammar school students all read Sandys. This survey gives a glimpse of the wide range of readers who had reason to use Sandys's work. The reasons for using it were also multiple. For some, who had no Latin, Sandys's translation gave them their only means of reading Ovid. For students of Latin, the literal translation was a good, practical aid in their efforts to translate the Metamorphoses. The commentaries of the two folio editions provided a respectable interpretation of the pagan myths for young scholars and these editions also served as reference works in the school library.

Since most students encountered Sandys's Ovid in school, it was almost inevitable that they should turn to Sandys again if they later decided to publish a translation of Ovid. Sandys's influence upon these translators of Ovid provides easily discernible evidence of the use of his work by later poets. John Dennis, in the notes to his translation The Passion of Byblis (1692), reveals that he has Sandys close at hand:

"This is not the thought of Ovid. Mr. Sandys has touch'd upon it, but very faintly. Mr. Oldham has kept wide of it. But because no thought that can ever be substituted, can make amends for that of the original, I think my self obliged to do Ovid that Justice as to insert it here."⁶⁴ Oldham, in fact, did not know of Sandys's translation when he prepared his own rendition of the passion of Byblis in 1682, but he soon heard of him after he published his effort. Speaking of himself in the third person, Oldham informs the reader in the Advertisement:

Something should be said of the last Trifle, if it were worth it. 'Twas occasion'd upon Reading the Translations of Ovid's Epistles, which gave him a mind to try what he could do upon a like Subject. Those being already forestal'd, he thought fit to make choice of the same Poet, whereon perhaps he has taken too much liberty. Had he seen Mr. Sandys his Translation before he begun, he never durst have ventur'd: Since he has, and finds reason enough to despair of his undertaking. But now 'tis done, he is loth to burn it and chuses rather to give somebody else the trouble.⁶⁵

A translator of Ovid was well advised to consult Sandys since his work was the best English translation in the seventeenth century. Of course, not all translators acknowledged their reliance upon him. Pope wrote "Sandys's Ghost" on the publication of a new edition of Ovid's Metamorphoses translated by several hands and sponsored by Samuel Garth. In this poem he depicts the study of a "Wit and courtly 'Squire" who was one of the translators:

A Desk he had of curious Work,
With glitt'ring Studs about;
Within the same did Sandys lurk,
Tho' Ovid lay without.⁶⁶

The implication is clear. There is, however, no need to continue the search for further evidence of Sandys's influence on the minor translators of Ovid who followed him. A brief consideration of Dryden's and Pope's Ovidian translations will establish his influence there.

Dryden had, by his own admission, read Sandys as a young man, and he must have reread Sandys between 1693 and 1700 when he changed his opinion of the work. Proof of Sandys's influence upon his translations of Ovid appears in the works. The most immediately noticeable indication of influence is Dryden's consistent reliance on Sandys for rhyme words. Beyond this, Dryden, at times, takes all or most of a line from Sandys. In his translation of the first book Sandys renders the description of Io's plight in this manner:

On leaves of Trees and bitter hearbes she fed.⁶⁷

Dryden follows Sandys exactly except for spelling and punctuation:

On Leaves of Trees, and bitter Herbs she fed.⁶⁸

Earlier in the translation other instances appear. Here is Sandys:

To whom the God: Although thou canst not bee⁶⁹

Dryden changes only one word:

To whom the God, because thou can'st not be⁷⁰

The best evidence of Dryden's reliance on Sandys occurs in the fable of Philemon and Baucis. Ovid tells of Baucis throwing a "textum rude" (a rough cloth) over a bench.⁷¹ Sandys expands this detail to "straw-stuff cushions" and Dryden, relying on Sandys, has Baucis lay down "Two Cushions Stuff'd with Straw."⁷²

In the Twickenham edition the editors of Pope's Ovidian translations provide similar evidence for the influence of Sandys upon Pope's efforts. A descriptive couplet in the fable of Dryope reveals the influence. Sandys translates it:

A Lake there is, which shelving borders bound,
Much like a shore; with fragrant myrtles crown'd.⁷³

Pope makes changes while retaining some of Sandys's diction:

A Lake there was, with shelving banks around,
Whose verdant summit fragrant myrtles crown'd.⁷⁴

Instances where Pope followed Sandys in the choice of unusual diction, however, offer better evidence of influence. In the Polyphemus and Acis episode, Sandys translates "errat," from the verb "errare" meaning to wander, stray or rove, as "hurries" and Pope uses the same verb while changing its tense to "hurried."⁷⁵ Another example is Sandys's translation of Ovid's "picta . . . mitra," an embroidered headdress, as a "painted miter" which Pope accepts verbatim.⁷⁶

These examples show that Sandys did, in at least one way, influence Dryden and Pope. He also knew Waller and probably saw him frequently at Great Tew.⁷⁷ All these facts raise the more significant question of the relationship of Sandys's Ovid to the development of the closed heroic couplet. Few scholars have dealt with the development of the heroic couplet, but there are two outstanding works of scholarship on this subject. Both Ruth Wallerstein and William Bowman Piper in their perceptive studies include Sandys among the poets whom they consider.

In her article "The Development of the Heroic Couplet" Ruth Wallerstein devotes several pages to Sandys's work. Sandys, she considers, "translated the rhetoric of Ovid into forms suited to the idiom of English speech and built upon the structure of the closed and epigrammatic couplet."⁷⁸ His rhetorical and metrical patterns are more even and complete than Drayton's, but Sandys's verse is "less fertile in patterns" than Ben Jonson's.⁷⁹ The translation is generally literal, and in it Sandys follows Ovid's closed lines and use of antithetic half-lines. In passages where Ovid uses inflection for balance and

antithesis, Sandys substitutes a rhetorical balance and antithesis of half-line units. The same process occurs where Ovid balances active and passive verbs in two parallel lines. From these examples she concludes that Sandys develops passages of explicit antithesis from suggested patterns of contrast in the original. Sandys also improves the couplet structure by using the end-stopped line in preference to Ovid's run-on line. Sandys's chief contributions in his translation are, then, a rhetorical and metrical evenness, the use of antithesis and the use of the end-stopped line.

Piper, in his study The Heroic Couplet, is more critical of Sandys's achievement. He finds much of the translation "monotonously patterned," a flaw partially attributable to the formal repetitions of the original.⁸⁰ Sandys's greatest fault is his failure to use the form of the couplet to his advantage at points of transition (at one point he resorts to nonsense). Piper's general assessment of Sandys's translation reads:

Sandys's chief achievement, then, as this passage should suggest, is the formulation of individual decasyllabic lines--virtually all adaptations of Ovidian hexameter patterns--which are capable of playing graceful parts in true couplet composition, lines which are often strengthened by zeugma and inversion and which often give significant, even elegant, definition to rhetorical balances and parallels. If by "versifier" Dryden meant "maker of lines"--and he should have, of course--he was remarkably just when he praised Sandys as "the best versifier of the last age."⁸¹

Both critics present little to challenge while offering valuable insights into Sandys's style. When Miss Wallerstein states that Sandys uses the end-stopped line in opposition to Ovid's run-on lines, the question might be raised as to whether the avoidance of run-on lines is due to an adherence to a form or to attempts to attain the compression

necessitated by his theory of translation. While both forces are at work in the translation, the latter is more dominant.

A more important issue is raised in the apparent difference between the two scholars on whether Sandys actually achieved a closed heroic couplet. Miss Wallerstein asserts that Sandys translated Ovid into a "closed and epigrammatic couplet," whereas Piper maintains that any closed heroic couplets found in Sandys's verse are merely incidental, for his translation is composed of end-stopped lines, not end-stopped couplets. The reasons for this divergence of opinion, which is apparent rather than real, can be traced both to the differences between the comparisons made and to the differences between their definitions of the closed heroic couplet. Miss Wallerstein compares Sandys mainly to his early poetic acquaintance Michael Drayton. In contrast to this comparison Piper assesses Sandys in relation to his contemporaries at Great Tew, Falkland and Waller, who were both superior poets, and he specifically compares Sandys's translation to Dryden's. A difference between their definitions of the closed heroic couplet also exists with Piper's definition being more detailed and rigorous. This enables Piper to point out the absence of closed heroic couplets in Sandys's verse while providing additional insights into Sandys's style.

These insights into the nature of Sandys's couplet style clarify the relationship of his style to the fully realized, closed heroic couplet, but the question of the extent of his influence still remains (a question which never can be completely resolved). It is tempting, as Piper has suggested, to maintain that the development of the closed heroic couplet took place in the literary circle at Great Tew for here is where Sandys, Falkland and Waller could have influenced each other.⁸²

Even if this view is not accepted, Sandys's influence upon the closed heroic couplet would occur at Great Tew, but what is the extent of his influence upon his fellow poets?

When the circle at Great Tew was formed, Sandys, who had already translated the Metamorphoses, was the most experienced poet and should have strongly influenced Falkland and Waller, but several facts militated against Sandys's having such a marked influence upon them. Both Falkland and Waller were better stylists and had come under the influence of other poets. In Falkland's poetry, the obvious influence is Jonson (a far greater poet than Sandys), and in Waller's poems Fairfax was acknowledged as an influence upon his style.⁸³ Sandys, then, was probably not the major influence on either poet. As for Sandys's stylistic influence upon the later Ovidian translations of Dryden and Pope, in neither case is it significant. Dryden's style was well established by the time he turned to Ovid, and Pope, although he was young, had not only the efforts of Sandys to aid him but also at least one translation of Dryden's and all the stylistic developments of the heroic couplet which had occurred between Sandys's translation and the time when he began to translate Ovid. Sandys's Ovid, then, was not a major influence on the inception of the closed heroic couplet, even though his friends Waller and Falkland might have gained some technical insights from his verse.⁸⁴

Sandys, however, did have a greater influence upon eighteenth-century poetry in another way. The use of Sandys's Ovid as a text to teach Latin raises an interesting question concerning the influence of Sandys's diction upon eighteenth-century poetry. Tillotson, in his study On the Poetry of Pope, discusses the formation of eighteenth-

century poetic diction. He attributes the beginning of this diction to Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas, and then discusses Sandys's Ovid and Thomas May's Lucan as poems which fixed the diction for the next century. Tillotson sees Sandys's translation as a major force in this process:

It was probably not Sylvester, but his imitator Sandys, who did most to fix the vocabulary of 'progressive' English poetry for more than a century. These increasingly favourite words of Sandys may be seen forming themselves into a group all the more clearly because his vocabulary is much more selective than Sylvester's. Sandys has not the unlimited space that Sylvester chose to tumble about in. His aim in translating Ovid was to produce a version in the same number of lines as the original. In this severe task he was almost literally successful, and that despite the shackles of rime, a pentameter line instead of an hexameter, and the English language instead of Latin. To attain his end, he had to stiffen up the natural laxity of English (a) by latinizing his syntax (though he does not offend in this by excess), (b) by imitating the Latin use of present and past participles as adjectives, (c) by using verbs derived from Latin instead of composite English verbs. But equally important for later poetry is Sandys's group of favourite and semi-favourite words: anxious (often with cares), pensive, ratify, promiscuous (ly), sad, trembling, glittering, nodding, sylvan, refulgent, pale, alternate, sing (of hail and arrows), yielding, involve.⁸⁵

Beatrice Ingalls' description of Sandys's poetic diction should be added to Tillotson's. She concludes from her detailed study of Sandys's Ovid that the main characteristics of his diction are the use of "-y" epithets, compound epithets, periphrases, adjectives ending in "-less" and "-full," and the epithets "sad" and "sounding."⁸⁶

In his study, The Language of Natural Description in Eighteenth-Century Poetry, John Arthos pays small attention to Sandys (ignoring Tillotson's comments) while stating that " . . . the great source of English poetic diction in the description of nature is Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas . . ." but Douglas Bush, in English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, weighs the influence of Sylvester against the influence of Sandys, and in the end the scales tip slightly

in Sandys's favor:

Sylvester, through his popularity and his influence on poets from Drayton and Browne onward, had a large effect upon the language of poetry. While his inventive boldness, good or bad, went beyond his original and fostered the taste for what Florio calls 'high-swalling and heaven disimbowelling words', he carried on (from Spenser?) the process which was to culminate, though not to end, in Pope's Iliad, namely, the creating of 'poetic diction'. The ultimate and immediate source of the common devices -- Latin idioms and syntax, participial adjectives, generalized descriptive phrases, the use of Latin derivatives in their literal sense, and the like -- was, of course, the Roman poets. And it was Sandys who in his Ovid, seeking literalness and compression more than ornament, purged, refined, and canalized the variegated effects of Sylvester. Thus the translators are the clearest index not only of the development of neoclassical versification but of the development of neoclassical poetic diction--which includes the standardizing of much simple English too.⁸⁷

The structure of his argument resembles Tillotson's, and he places greater emphasis on the Roman poets and Sandys's Ovid.

Tillotson's passing observation does not have the strength of Arthos' fully developed argument, but the popularity of Sandys's Ovid as a schooltext provides a good reason why Sandys's Ovid, not Sylvester's Du Bartas (or even May's Lucan) "did most to fix the vocabulary of 'progressive' English poetry for more than a century."⁸⁸ A large part of the literate population read Sandys's translation since it was used by students to learn Latin both in and out of school. Sandys's diction would be strongly impressed upon the students' minds because a student struggling to translate Ovid would spend a good deal of time concentrating on Sandys's words and sentences, and because he would acquire new Latin vocabulary and, incidentally, English diction, from Ovid and Sandys while he translated. Ovid's original and Sandys's translation were also sources for rhetorical flowers which the students collected and memorized. Although Tillotson does not pause to give reasons for his observation, he is probably correct in his emphasis when he asserts:

"Most of the seventeenth-century poets who are not metaphysicals or satirists build up their vocabulary from Sandys and from Sandys's sources."⁸⁹ During the seventeenth century Sandys's translation was widely read by students of Latin both in and out of the grammar schools. This widespread reading public allowed Sandys's translation to exert a strong influence upon the formation of eighteenth-century poetic diction and this stands as his greatest influence upon English poetry.

The popularity of Sandys's Ovid as a translation ended with the advent of Garth's edition of the Metamorphoses, translated by several hands, for literal translation had become scorned in the light of Dryden's critical judgements. The eighteenth-century poets in their rejection of elaborate allegorical interpretations of myth put aside Sandys's outdated mythography along with all the other mythographical handbooks of the Renaissance. Sandys reappears only once more in the history of English poetry as a minor influence upon Keats (see Appendix), and today he is known primarily to students of the seventeenth century who are interested in the heroic couplet or Sandys's mythography.

NOTES

¹Croll, "Attic" and Baroque Prose Style, 182.

²Sandys, Metamorphosis, 8.

³Spence, Anecdotes, I, 14.

⁴Dryden, Essays, II, 10.

⁵Johnson, Works, II, 215-16.

⁶Draper, "The Theory of Translation in the Eighteenth Century," Neophilologus, VI (1921), 244-45.

⁷Sandys, Metamorphosis, 10.

⁸Ibid., 9.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Baldwin, Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greek, II, 382; my discussion is indebted to Baldwin and to Harding's Milton and the Renaissance Ovid.

¹¹Brinsley, Ludus Literarius, 2b₄^v.

¹²Ibid., 2c₁^r.

¹³Hooile, A New Discovery, prelim. A₁₀^v.

¹⁴Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, III, 759.

¹⁵Ibid., 758.

¹⁶Hooile, A New Discovery, prelim. A₁^r.

¹⁷Ibid., 161.

¹⁸Ibid., 181.

¹⁹Addison, Spectator, 523 (Oct. 30, 1712), in The Spectator, IV, 361-62.

²⁰Hooile, A New Discovery, 157-58.

²¹Ibid., 162-63.

²²Vives, On Education, 125.

²³Ibid., 138.

²⁴Elyot, The Governor, 32.

²⁵Webbe, A Discourse of English Poetrie, in Elizabethan Critical Essays, I, 238.

²⁶Hoole, A New Discovery, 179. Within this context it is pertinent to note that Alexander Gill, the elder, high master of St. Paul's School (where he taught Milton) paraphrased Sandys when he gave a translation from the Metamorphoses in his Sacred Philosophie of the Holy Scripture (1635), Baldwin, "Alexander Gill," 21.

²⁷Aubrey, Brief Lives, I, 36.

²⁸Aubrey never published this manuscript; in 1972, however, J. E. Stephens published an edited version of it entitled Aubrey on Education.

²⁹Aubrey, Aubrey on Education, 53.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid., 55.

³²Ibid., 59

³³Ibid., 65.

³⁴Ibid., 163.

³⁵Ibid., 92.

³⁶Ibid., 164.

³⁷Dryden, Essays, II, 10.

³⁸Spence, Anecdotes, I, 14.

³⁹Ibid., 8.

⁴⁰Ibid., 11.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid., 12.

⁴³Ibid., 14; Pope, Poems, I, 361.

⁴⁴Pope, Poems, I, 332.

⁴⁵Jones, Ovids Invective, A₁r.

⁴⁶Ibid., A₄r.

⁴⁷Poole, The English Parnassus, a₈r.

⁴⁸Hoole, A New Discovery, 118.

⁴⁹Ibid., 118-19.

⁵⁰Ibid., 122.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²The quotation is from the cover of Emmanuel College MS. 48 as quoted by Mark Curtis in Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 289. I have not yet had a chance to examine the manuscript and am forced to rely on the quotations given from it by Mr. Curtis, and by William Costello in The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge. It should be noted that Curtis in an Appendix raises some doubt as to the authorship of the manuscript, Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 289-90.

⁵³Emmanuel College, MS. 48, as quoted by Costello, The Scholastic Curriculum, 64.

⁵⁴Emmanuel College, MS. 48, fol. 20v, as quoted by Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 131.

⁵⁵Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 132, 133.

⁵⁶Emmanuel College, MS. 179, fol. 24, as quoted by Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 134. Curtis does not state that Sandys's works were retained in this copy's list.

⁵⁷Whiting, "Il Insonio Insonnadado," in Minor Poets of the Caroline Period, III, 548.

⁵⁸Wither, The Great Assises, 11.

⁵⁹Ralph, Sir Humphrey Mildmay, 211, 71. I assume the copy lent was Sandys's translation since he did own it and a gentlewoman with a good working knowledge of Latin would be an exception.

⁶⁰Osborne, Letters, 131.

⁶¹Ibid., 269-70.

⁶²Cavendish, Sociable Letters, 305.

⁶³Grant, Margaret the First, 113. Mr. Grant does not document this statement.

⁶⁴Dennis, The Passion of Byblis, 24.

⁶⁵Oldham, Satyrs upon the Jesuits, A5v.

⁶⁶Pope, Poems, VI, 171.

⁶⁷Sandys, Metamorphosis, 43.

⁶⁸Dryden, Poems, II, 822, l. 870.

⁶⁹Sandys, Metamorphosis, 41.

⁷⁰Dryden, Poems, II, 819, l. 754.

⁷¹Frank Justus Miller translates the phrase as "rough covering" in the Loeb edition, I, 451. I am indebted to Kinsley's notes on Dryden for this point. All Latin quotations from the Metamorphoses in this chapter are from the Loeb edition and have been collated with the 1584 Sabinus edition.

⁷²Sandys, Metamorphosis, 371; Dryden, Poems, IV, 1566, l. 47.

⁷³Sandys, Metamorphosis, 410. All my comments on Pope's use of Sandys are drawn from the notes of the Twickenham edition of Pope's poetry.

⁷⁴Pope, Poems, I, 386, ll. 15-16.

⁷⁵Ovid, Metamorphoses, II, 288, l. 872; Sandys, Metamorphosis, 598; Pope, Poems, I, 371, l. 133.

⁷⁶Ovid, Metamorphoses, II, 346, l. 654; Sandys, Metamorphosis, 598; Pope, Poems, I, 379, l. 49.

⁷⁷Waller wrote a poem for Sandys's 1638 paraphrases.

⁷⁸Wallerstein, "The Development of the Heroic Couplet," PMLA, L (1935), 187.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Piper, Heroic Couplet, 222.

⁸¹Ibid., 73.

⁸²Ibid., 69.

⁸³For a discussion of Fairfax's influence see Wallerstein, "The Development of the Heroic Couplet," PMLA, L (1935), 177-181.

⁸⁴The style of Sandys's translation should not be analyzed solely in terms of the closed heroic couplet. That approach tends to neglect the fact that Sandys was attempting a literal translation of Latin hexameters. His one line units are, in most cases, Ovid's. In addition to this the demands of the closed heroic couplet could not dominate him as they did Dryden, for they had not yet been formulated and established as conventional. This is not to deny Dryden's superiority as a poet, but to suggest a more valid ground for assessing Sandys's poetry.

⁸⁵Tillotson, On the Poetry of Pope, 66-67.

⁸⁶This summary is based on Miss Ingalls' summary which I have xeroxed with the permission of the Widener Library at Harvard University.

⁸⁷Arthos, Language of Natural Description, 75; Bush, English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, 75.

⁸⁸This argument admittedly does not preclude other arguments for attributing a greater influence to Sylvester, May, or any other figure, for poets (as distinct from their fellow students) generally read more widely and are strongly influenced by their favorite writers. The question of influence in the development of eighteenth-century poetic diction is extremely complex and I have only supplied a few facts to support Professor Tillotson's observations.

⁸⁹Tillotson, On the Poetry of Pope, 70.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

SANDYS'S INFLUENCE ON HUNT AND KEATS

Towards the end of the eighteenth century and throughout the Romantic revival, many poets took a renewed interest in classical myth; in the case of Leigh Hunt and Keats, this led them to Sandys's Ovid.¹

Leigh Hunt's interest in mythography began when he was a child and continued through most of his life. In his autobiographical account of his school days, he describes his interest in the standard mythographical handbooks of his day:

But there were three books which I read in whenever I could, and which often got me into trouble. These were Tooke's Pantheon, Lempriere's Classical Dictionary, and Spence's Polymetis, the great folio edition with plates. Tooke was a prodigious favorite with us. I see before me, as vividly now as ever, his Mars and Apollo, his Venus and Aurora, which I was continually trying to copy; the Mars, coming on furiously in his car; Apollo, with his radiant head, in the midst of shades and fountains; Aurora with hers, a golden dawn; and Venus, very handsome, we thought, and not looking too modest, in "a slight cymar." It is curious how completely the graces of the pagan theology overcame with us the wise cautions and reproofs that were set against it in the pages of Mr. Tooke.²

Later, in 1816, the painter Benjamin Robert Haydon notes in his diary:

"Leigh Hunt says he prefers infinitely the beauties of Pagan Mythology to the gloomy repentance of the Christians."³ The best indication of

Hunt's interest appears in his essays on various aspects of myth which he published in 1835-36.⁴ His references in these essays reveal his

knowledge of eighteenth-century mythographical authors to include Abbé Banier, Tooke, King, Baldwin, Herbelot, Keightley, Bochart, Bryant and Lempriere. His knowledge of Renaissance mythographers is more limited.

He once mentions Bacon, relies on Sandys at several points, and frequently refers to Boccaccio and Comes. Hunt turns to "Our old friend Sandys, in the delightful notes to his Ovid" for an account of a sighting of Triton, and for an allegorical and topographical account of the Sirens.⁵ Elsewhere he quotes Sandys's "well-turned" version of Ovid when a translation is needed.⁶

His interest in myth is closely allied with his poetic interests, and in one essay he evaluates his contemporaries' poetic treatment of myth:

. . . we do not think it has ever been revived to more beautiful account than in the young poetry and remote haunts of imagination of the late Mr. Keats. He lamented that he could not do it justice. "Oh, how unlike," he cries, speaking of the style of his fine poem, Hyperion.

To that large utterance of the early gods!

But this was the modesty of a real poet. Milton himself would have been happy to read his Hyperion aloud, and to have welcomed the new spirit among the choir of poets⁷

It is significant that the end which Hunt attributes to modern poets is to revive heathen mythology.

No positive proof of Sandys's influence on Hunt's poetry appears, but there is one suggestive passage. In "Bacchus and Ariadne" Hunt describes Ariadne's crown as "this Vulcanian work" and continues by tracing the history of the crown:

Minos, one day, delighted with her [Europa's] heir
In sex and sweetness, gave it her to wear;
And 'twas this crown, that with its magic rays,
Shooting about her head, and anxious gaze,
Helped Theseus when he pierced the dreadful maze.⁸

In his commentary on the myth of Ariadne, Sandys describes her crown:

"This, for the excellent workmanship, was faind to have beene made by Vulcan: and that the refulgency thereof gave a light to Theseus through the errors of the Labyrinth."⁹ This evidence remains far from conclusive, but the coincidence is not to be dismissed, for Hunt did read Sandys.

Whether Hunt introduced Keats to Sandys's Ovid or Keats introduced Hunt is unknown, but in either case they both had an interest in mythography, and both knew Sandys's work. To assess Sandys's influence on Keats's poetry, it is necessary to establish first the sources of Keats's knowledge of classical myth, and then try to determine when he first read Sandys's Ovid and show how he was influenced by it. The established sources for Keats's knowledge of mythology range from Hesiod to William Godwin. Keats had translated the Aeneid by 1811.¹⁰ He possessed a Latin edition of Ovid's Metamorphoses inscribed "John Keats emer: 1812," and by 1817 he had acquired Chapman's translation of The Iliads of Homer, The Odysseys of Homer, Homer's Batrochomyomachia, Hymns, and Epigrams; Hesiod's Works and Days; and Booth's The Historical Library of Diodorus the Sicilian in fifteen books.¹¹

In addition to feeling the influence of these classical works, the youthful Keats also read various books of mythography while attending Mr. Clarke's school at Enfield (1803-11). Charles Cowden Clarke, Keats's school-boy friend, recounts Keats's interest in mythography:

The books, however, that were his constant recurrent sources of attraction were Tooke's "Pantheon," Lempriere's "Classical Dictionary," which he appeared to learn, and Spence's "Polymetis." This was the store whence he acquired his intimacy with the Greek Mythology; here was he "suckled in that creed outworn;" for his amount of classical attainment extended no farther than the "Aeneid"¹²

Although Clarke's recollections are not entirely trustworthy, Keats's knowledge of these common mythological handbooks has been accepted.¹³

Later in his life Keats acquired additional mythographical works.

Benjamin Bailey in an 1849 letter to Lord Houghton describes one of these acquisitions:

A year or two after his [Keats's] death I received a book, & a fine old engraving of Shakspeare, from Mr. Brown. The book is characteristic of

Keats, & shews that he read other & better books than Lempriere's Dictionary, on the Greek Mythology, as was sneeringly said of him by the vulgar, would-be critics of the day.--The book,--a fine old Quarto, which now lies before me, with his name,--"John Keats, 1819," written at the top corner of the title page,--is "Auctores Mythographi Latini, Cajus Julius Hyginus, Fab. Planciad, Fulgentius, Lactantius Placidus, Albricus Philosophus. Lugd. Bat. Amstelaed. 1742." Fronting the title page is a curious engraving mingling together the higher Deities, & the torments of the Infernal Regions. It contains upwards of 900 pages, & is a very learned work.¹⁴

Charles Brown's list of Keats's books compiled in July 1821 contains two more works, Alexander Adam's Roman Antiquities and Edward Davies' Celtic Researches.¹⁵

These works were the major sources for Keats's knowledge of myth, but there were also many literary influences. In his earlier poetry Keats had been captivated by Chaucer, Spenser and Shakespeare.¹⁶ He pored over these poets, memorizing images which later reappeared in his poems. Milton's influence grew upon him while he wrote Endymion (a fact that can be seen in the poem itself).¹⁷ Keats also read many other poets of the English Renaissance in his early years: Marlowe, Jonson, Marston, Beaumont and Fletcher, Drummond, Browne, Lyly and Drayton.¹⁸ This further complicates the problem of literary influence. A good example of this problem occurs in Douglas Bush's annotation to Keats's phrase in Endymion, "his tread / Was Hesperian."¹⁹ Bush makes the following comment: "Hesperian: the word (cf. Sandys, p. 204) seems to mean 'Hesperidean': 'as if he were in the garden of Hesperides.'" ²⁰ Bush fails to note that Milton uses the same word in Paradise Lost (III. 568 and IV. 250). Of these two possible sources I would argue that Milton is the probable one. Keats undoubtedly read the poet Milton more closely than he read the translator Sandys.

The earliest indication that Keats might have been reading Sandys occurs in the manuscripts of his first volume of poems which was published in 1817. In annotating line 157 of "I Stood Tip Toe" De Selincourt supports

a reference to Ovid by discussing the Narcissus episode in the poem:

The story of Narcissus was also known to Keats in Ovid, Met., iii, where it is told in full. Woodhouse, in his manuscript notes to the poem, refers to p. 50 of Sandys's Ovid -- an extremely interesting reference, as it proves beyond a doubt that the edition of Sandys in the use of Keats and his friends was the folio with full commentaries, in which the tale of Narcissus duly appears on p. 50. This is important, as in the notes to Endymion much illustrative matter has been drawn from Sandys's commentaries with which before I read Woodhouse's note, I was convinced upon internal evidence that Keats was familiar.²¹

Since these notes are Woodhouse's instead of Keats's, the evidence is not conclusive.

This evidence of Keats's use of Sandys, however, is supported by later evidence found within Endymion. Keats uses unusual diction such as "sea spry," and its most probable source is Sandys. Claude Finney, in his detailed study of the Song of the Indian Maid in Book IV, finds attributes of Bacchus that can be traced only to Sandys.²² Keats's use of the epithet "brazen beaks" forms the most conclusive piece of evidence. In his commentary to Book VIII Sandys translates some lines of Virgil. In the translation he uses the epithet "brazen beakes," an image not found in Virgil.²³ Since Sandys is the only possible source of this phrase, one must either conclude that Keats was influenced by Sandys or that Keats, in writing Endymion, independently developed the same phrase. The former certainly seems more probable.

Further proof of Keats's reliance on Sandys for mythological information appears in the Woodhouse manuscript of Hyperion. De Selincourt, in a note on Hyperion (II. 19-20), discusses the names of the Titans:

In the Woodhouse MS., opposite these lines, and apparently in the hand of Keats himself, are written the words

"Big-braun'd Aegaeon mounted on a whale"

and below

"Aegaeon p. 25, S.O. Typhon or Typhoeus 90. Coeus 108."

Reference to these pages in the 1640 edition of Sandys's Ovid gives us in each case the clue to a main source of Keats's knowledge of the Titans. On p. 25 we find the line above quoted, with the marginal note "a giant

drowned in the Aegaeon Sea for assisting the Titans and taken into the number of the sea gods by Tethys" (he is identical with Briareus); on p. 90 a marginal note on Typhon "the son of Tellus and Tantaros also called Typhoeus," and on p. 108, again in a note, Coeus is spoken of as "one of the Titans."²⁴

These examples of Sandys's influence suggest that Keats drew both images and mythological information from Sandys throughout most of his short career. There are other passages noted by De Selincourt and Bush where Sandys might have influenced Keats, but none of them literally repeats any unusual phrases which can be found only in Sandys, such as "brazen beaks," and in some cases other possible sources also exist.²⁵

The echoes of an image or a unique word found in Sandys's Ovid offer the best proof of Keats's use of Sandys and, at the same time, are the most characteristic examples of Keats's borrowings. Joan Grundy gives an accurate description of Keats's creative process which includes a strong criticism of source studies in Keats.

Most of the discoveries about Keats's unconscious borrowings seem to me, in themselves, to interest without enlightening. These borrowings are usually either visual or aural in character; some image, phrase or cadence floats up out of the mists of memory and finds a place in his poem. The connection often seems quite accidental; the particular passage seems often to have been remembered quite apart from its context, so that nothing is to be gained in the understanding of Keats's poem by going back to the "source."²⁶

This criticism is quite valid for many of the source studies on Keats, but Keats's use of Sandys frequently has much more to offer for a student of myth. At worst, there is the continuing tradition of a god or goddess described with his or her characteristic attributes. The attributes of Cybele hardly change from Sandys's description:

The Mother, crown'd
With towres, had struck them to the Stygian Sound:
But that she thought that punishment too small.
When yellow maines on their smooth shoulders fall;
Their armes, to legs; their fingers turne to nailes;
Their brests of wondrous strength: their tufted tales
Whiske up the dust²⁷

Here is Keats:

Forth from a rugged arch, in the dusk below,
 Came mother Cybele! alone--alone--
 In sombre chariot; dark foldings thrown
 About her majesty, and front death pale,
 With turrets crown'd. Four maned lions hale
 The sluggish wheels; solemn their toothed maws,
 Their surly eyes brow-hidden, heavy paws
 Uplifted drowsily, and nervy tails
 Cowering their tawny brushes. Silent sails
 This shadowy queen athwart, and faints away
 In another gloomy arch.²⁸

He retains the epithet "mother." Cybele is still underground and has the traditional description "with turrets crown'd" riding her chariot drawn by lions.²⁹ Yet there are changes; Cybele has no real significance in the plot of Endymion, whereas she has a definite role as a goddess who punishes impiety in Ovid, and in Sandys, who saw her as the earth.³⁰

For Keats the passage on Cybele does not have to relate to the plot. His letters show that he approached Endymion as a test of his imagination: "At any rate I have no right to talk until Endymion is finished--it will be a test, a trial of my Powers of Imagination and chiefly of my invention which is a rare thing indeed--by which I must make 4000 Lines of one bare circumstance and fill them with poetry."³¹ In this short visionary experience, he can take some hints from Sandys's description of the lions, and then, test his own creative powers in the imaginative description of Cybele's "Four maned lions."

Imagination played a central role in Keats's thought. He rewrote myths, reinterpreting them in terms relevant to his obsession with poetry. Pan, who was a god of nature for Sandys, becomes "a symbol of the romantic imagination."³²

Dread opener of the mysterious doors
 Leading to universal knowledge--see,
 Great son of Dryope,
 The many that are come to pay their vows
 With leaves about their brows!

Be still the unimaginable lodge
 For solitary thinkings; such as dodge
 Conception to the very bourne of heaven,
 Then leave the naked brain: be still the leaven,
 That spreading in this dull and clodded earth
 Gives it a touch ethereal--a new birth:
 Be still a symbol of immensity;
 A firmament reflected in a sea;
 An element filling the space between;
 An unknown³³

Claude Finney accurately traces Keats's sources in this passage on Pan:

From Lempriere, Tooke and Sandys, Keats derived the conception of Pan as the symbol of "universal nature," the upper part of his body representing the "heavens" and the lower part of his body the "earth." From Lempriere and Tooke he derived the conception of Pan as a symbol of a "firmament" and from Sandys the idea that Pan lived "solitarily."³⁴

The associations of heaven and earth with Pan are there, but Keats's conception of Pan has changed remarkably from Sandys's.

The metamorphosis of Pan from a god of nature to a god of poetic inspiration can only be understood by comparing Sandys's conception of myth with Keats's understanding of myth, nature, and poetry. For Sandys, myth was an ancient fable frequently explicable in terms of distorted historical facts, of physical events or of moral truths. The relationship of myth, nature, and poetry in Keats's mind is not so apparent and is certainly more complex. In Book II of Endymion Keats comments on myth.

Ye who have yearn'd
 With too much passion, will here stay and pity,
 For the mere sake of truth; as 'tis a ditty
 Not of these days, but long ago 'twas told
 By a cavern wind unto a forest old;
 And then the forest told it in a dream
 To a sleeping lake, whose cool and level gleam
 A poet caught as he was journeying
 To Phoebus' shrine; and in it he did fling
 His weary limbs, bathing an hour's space,
 And after, straight in that inspired place
 He sang the story up into the air,
 Giving it universal freedom. There
 Has it been ever sounding for those ears
 Whose tips are glowing hot. The legend cheers
 Yon centinel stars; and he who listens to it
 Must surely be self-doom'd or he will rue it:

For quenchless burnings come upon the heart,
 Made fiercer by a fear lest any part
 Should be engulfed in the eddying wind.
 As much as here is penn'd doth always find
 A resting place, thus much comes clear and plain;
 Anon the strange voice is upon the wane--
 And 'tis but echo'd from departing sound,
 That the fair visitant at last unwound
 Her gentle limbs, and left the youth asleep.--
 Thus the tradition of the gusty deep.³⁵

Myth, the legends and traditions, reside in nature and inspire the poet's imagination. The "truth" of the myth seems to be proven by the inspiration the poet's imagination receives. The truth of the imaginative experience has replaced Sandys's attempts to discover empirical or moral truths in fables, and myth is reborn with new symbolic associations. With the early death of Keats, Sandys's influence upon English poetry ended.

NOTES

¹I have left out of the appendix a discussion of Sandys's influence on Milton because the influence has been greatly exaggerated with little substantiation. The subject can be adequately covered in this footnote. Douglas Bush has pointed out Sandys's influence on Milton's diction in the following phrases: "rocking winds," "Pitchy cloud," "jutting rocks," and the use of "profound" as a noun (see Complete Poetical Works of John Milton, 95, 220, 255, and 254). Bush in Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition (260-97) and Davis P. Harding in Milton and the Renaissance Ovid compare Sandys's commentaries with Milton's allegorical treatment of myth, but they offer no convincing evidence (that is, verbal parallels) of the actual influence of Sandys on Milton. Harding's central assertion, in fact, that "Both Milton and Sandys have 'wand reversed'" (p. 66) stands proven wrong by his own evidence.

I have not found convincing evidence for Sandys's influence upon any other Romantic poet. Lowes cites Sandys for one example of traditional superstition on the supernatural stoppage of ships. He is considering these lines from the "Ancient Mariner:"

Day after day, day after day,
 We stuck, nor breath nor motion
 (II, 115-16)

Lowes, Road to Xanadu, 272, 501, n. 20.

²Hunt, Autobiography, 90-91.

- ³This observation is quoted from Jack, Keats and the Mirror of Art, 119.
- ⁴Hunt's essays on myth are collected in A Day by the Fire.
- ⁵Hunt, "Tritons and Men of the Sea," 213, and "The Sirens and Mermaids of the Poets," 195, in A Day by the Fire.
- ⁶Hunt, "The Nymphs of Antiquity and of the Poets," 178, in A Day by the Fire.
- ⁷Hunt, "A popular View of Heathen Mythology," 57, in A Day by the Fire.
- ⁸Hunt, Poetical Works, 46, ll. 125-30.
- ⁹Sandys, Metamorphosis, 384.
- ¹⁰Brown, Life of John Keats, reprinted in Keats Circle, II, 55.
- ¹¹Ward, John Keats, 26; Finney, Evolution of Keats's Poetry, I, 255.
- ¹²Clarke, Recollections of Writers, 124.
- ¹³Both Bush (Mythology and the Romantic Tradition, 175) and Finney (Evolution of Keats's Poetry, I, 255) accept this. For a good qualification of Clarke's reminiscences see Ward, John Keats, 417, n. 20.
- ¹⁴Keats Circle, II, 280; the book was published in Leyden in 1642 (see Keats Circle, I, 256, n. 33).
- ¹⁵Keats Circle, I, 254.
- ¹⁶Brown, Life of John Keats, reprinted in Keats Circle, II, 55-56.
- ¹⁷No one has noted the influence of "Lycidas" upon the satiric passage which begins Book III of Endymion. This, coupled with other Miltonic influences which De Selincourt notes in Book III, proves Milton's influence. While writing Book III, Keats lived at Oxford with Benjamin Bailey, who sparked Keats's enthusiasm for Milton.
- ¹⁸Finney, Evolution of Keats's Poetry, I, 247.
- ¹⁹Keats, Endymion, II, ll. 673-74. All references to Keats's poetry are to the Garrod edition, London, 1956.
- ²⁰Keats, Selected Poems and Letters, 321.
- ²¹De Selincourt, ed., Poems, 391.
- ²²Finney, Evolution of Keats's Poetry, I, 289.

²³Sandys, Metamorphosis (1640 ed.), Y3r. Douglas Bush first pointed this out in Keats, Selected Poems and Letters, 321, n. 123-36.

²⁴De Selincourt, ed., Poems, 505.

²⁵In many cases I have not been able to determine if Sandys is Keats's sole source since many of the eighteenth-century mythographers which Keats used were not accessible to me.

²⁶Grundy, "Keats and the Elizabethans," in John Keats: A Reassessment, 3.

²⁷Sandys, Metamorphosis, 472.

²⁸Keats, Endymion, II, ll. 639-49.

²⁹De Selincourt's study of Keats's cancelled readings offers further proof of Sandys's influence, Poems, 433-34.

³⁰Sandys, Metamorphosis, 472.

³¹Keats, Letters, I, 169-70.

³²Bush gives this description in John Keats: Selected Poems and Letters, 317.

³³Keats, Endymion, I, ll. 288-302.

³⁴Finney, Evolution of Keats's Poetry, I, 267.

³⁵Keats, Endymion, II, ll. 827-53.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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The following abbreviations have been employed:

CUP	Cambridge University Press
DNB	The Dictionary of National Biography
OUP	Oxford University Press
<u>PMLA</u>	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
STC	<u>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640.</u> Edited by A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave. London: The Bibliographical Society, 1926.
Wing	<u>Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries 1641-1700.</u> Compiled by Donald Wing. 3 vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945-51.

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